00030878

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

HISTORY OF ROME

THE ROMAN PEOPLE

PRINTED BY

KELLY & CO., GATE STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.;

AND KINGSTON-ON-THAMES.

HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE,

BY

VICTOR DURUY,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ETC.

EDITED BY THE REV. J. P. MAHAFFY,

PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ABOUT 2500 ENGRAVINGS, 100 MAPS AND PLANS, AND NUMEROUS CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

30878

VOLUME II.—PART II.

(FROM THE BATTLE OF ZAMA TO END OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE)

WITH 318 WOOD ENGRAVINGS, 3 MAPS AND 4 CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

LONDON:

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

1884.

00030878

[*The rights of translation and reproduction are reserved.*]

COPYRIGHT (1884) BY ESTES & LAURIAT.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE ARISTOCRATIC REACTION; EARLY CAREER OF MARIUS; JUGURTHA (121-106).

I.—Aristocratic Reaction.

WHEN the 3,000 corpses had been thrown into the Tiber, the blood washed away in the streets, and the price for the murder paid, the savage Opimius, to render the memory of this odious victory immortal, caused a medal to be struck, representing himself as Hercules with a laurel wreath and a club. After this he purified the city by lustrations and consecrated a temple to Concord,[1] a derisive parody of the last act of the life of Camillus. But Camillus had not murdered Licinius, and he had, in truth, closed an era of disturbance, while Opimius opened an era of proscriptions.

Hercules with his Club.

Meantime the nobles dared not too quickly make use of their victory; they took fifteen years to overthrow the work of the Gracchi. After having intimidated the triumvir Papirius Carbo, the only remaining friend of Caius, they dishonoured him by obliging him to

[1] This temple was rebuilt in white marble by Tiberius, and later restored by S. Severus. There yet remain magnificent ruins, whence has been made the restoration shown on vol. i. p. 283.

[2] Statuette of bronze found near Valenciennes, and now in the museum at Rennes. M. E.

defend Opimius, cited by a tribune to answer for the murder of so many citizens. The year after they caused him to be himself accused by the young Crassus. Opimius had been acquitted, but Carbo only escaped condemnation by suicide. The laws meanwhile were one after another modified or repealed. The permission granted to each man to sell his lot resulted in the land nearly all returning to the rich. Then the tribune Thorius carried a law that the public domain should not be further divided, and that the holders should retain possession by the payment of a tax, the proceeds of which should be distributed among the people. This was, in effect, a poor-law. The populace of Rome were delighted; but presently M. Octavius diminished the gratuitous distributions of corn, and in the year 111 a tribune, whose name Appian does not give, suppressed the tax.[2]

Carbo.[1]

The nobles desired neither the reconstruction of a middle class, which might call them to account, nor the extension of citizenship to the Italians, which would have brought down Rome from the rank of mistress of Italy to the condition of a simple capital, not transmarine colonies, Latinizing the provinces and propagating these rights which they would be obliged to respect. They alone in the senate and in all public functions; below them a populace easy to alarm by the Cretan archers, or to gratify by games and distributions: such was their short-sighted policy. At the same time they dared not yet lay hand upon the laws concerning the *judicia*, lest they should offend the powerful order established by Caius, which had just aided them in his destruction. They understood also that to preserve the power which was coming back to them it was needful to prevent by some severe acts new attacks from the tribunes. In the year 116 the censors, Metellus Dalmaticus and Domitius Ahenobarbus, degraded thirty-two senators, two of whom were ex-censors, and they also expelled from the city play-actors, and prohibited all games except those of dice and

de Chanot (*Gazette archéol.*, 1875) regards it, and justly, as an antique [though very rude] copy of the famous Hercules, whose type is best known in the Farnese Hercules.

[1] CARB. ROMA. Jupiter Tonans in a quadriga. Reverse of a denarius of the Papirian family.

[2] Cicero, *Brut.*, 36.

huckle-bones.[1] The following year the consul Scaurus published a new sumptuary law, and limited the freedmen to the city tribes. Two years after, the austere Cassius Longinus condemned many vestals whom the pontifex Maximus had not dared to punish.[2] Finally, when the scandals of the Numidian war broke out, the knights, sharing in the indignation of the people, punished a pontifex and several persons of consular family. But the nobles regarded this as going too far, and in the year 106 the consul Cæpio asked to

Women Playing with Huckle-bones.[3]

have half the juries restored to the senators. "Rescue us!" Crassus, the orator, cried, appealing to the people, "rescue us from the savage beasts, whose cruelty cannot satiate itself with our blood; do not suffer us to be subjected to any other than yourselves, for we cannot and ought not to have other masters than you, the people!"[4] These humble words gained the multitude, which

[1] Livy, *Epit.*, lxii., and Cassiod., *Chron. Alex.*: . . . . *Artem ludicram ex urbe removerunt, præter Latinum tibicinem cum cantore et ludum talorum.* In 92 the censors drove out the Greek rhetoricians.

[2] Livy, *Epit.*, xliii.; Cic., *Brut.*, 43.

[3] The engraving represents a group in terra-cotta found at Capua, and acquired in 1866 by the British Museum, and published by the *Gazette archéologique* (1876, p. 971) with a learned paper by A. S. Murray.

[4] Cic., *de Orat.*, i. 52.

disarmed itself, and the *judicia* were divided.[1] There was a general relapse of the poor into extreme destitution, of the rich into luxury and insolence: the two sons of Cornelia had left but a memory of blood.

"But," says another tribune, Mirabeau, whose name is as great, though less pure, "when the last of the Gracchi fell he threw dust towards heaven, and from that dust was born Marius." Less than two years after the death of Caius, Marius became tribune.

II.—Early Career of Marius.[2]

He was a citizen of Arpinum,[3] rude as Cato, illiterate, loving neither school nor theatre,[4] and, had it not been for the Cimbrian wars, a man who could never have played a leading part. An intrepid soldier, a good general, but without superior qualities, and unskilled in the arts of government, he was as irresolute in the Forum as he was firm in the camp. Living from day to day, and having no fixed designs, he betrayed in his long career, by turns, the senate, the democratic chiefs, and the allies, and ended by re-entering Rome—he, "the third founder of the city"—at the head of an army of slaves enticed away from their

[1] Val. Max., vi. 9.

[2] Marius had but two names, Caius Marius; Plutarch expresses surprise at this, because the Romans had three, and sometimes four: 1st. The *prænomen*, for the individual, as Caius, Cneus, Lucius, Marcus, Sextus, and corresponding to our baptismal name; there were not more than thirty of these in the Roman vocabulary. 2nd. The *nomen* (*gentilitium*) or name of the *gens* to which the individual belonged, terminating always in *ius* or *eius*. 3rd. The *cognomen*, serving to distinguish the different families belonging to the same *gens*, drawn from certain circumstances. *Moral:* Imperiosus (the violent), Brutus (the fool), Cato, Catulus (the crafty); *physical:* Cæcus (the blind), Cicero (the chick-pea), Scipio (the staff); or, lastly, *historic:* Magnus, Maximus, Torquatus (with the collar), etc. 4th. The *agnomen*, in memory of a victory, Africanus, Asiaticus, Creticus, Macedonicus. Thus in P. Corn. Scipio Africanus, Publius is the prænomen, Cornelius the name of the *gens* (Cornelia), Scipio that of the family, and Africanus the surname. It is believed that the cognomen Scipio comes from some Cornelius having guided the steps of his blind father, as the latter might have employed a staff, *patrem pro baculo regebat.* (Macr., *Sat.*, I. vi. 26.)

[3] Born in a village of the Arpinate territory, which is still called the country of Marius, *Casamari.*

[4] After his triumph he gave Greek games, at which he was present himself, but for a few minutes. He was never willing to learn Greek nor to sacrifice, as Pluto says, to the Muses and the Graces.

masters. Scipio had remarked his courage at the siege of Numantia, and it is said that being asked on one occasion what general would take his place, rejoined, "This man, perhaps," touching Marius on the shoulder, a prophecy invented, like so many others, after the fact. The support of the Metelli, former protectors of his family,[1] raised Marius in 119 to the office of tribune. His first act was an endeavour to make the elections purer. The candidates and their friends, for the purpose of soliciting votes up to the last moment, were accustomed to station themselves upon the gangways leading to the poll. To keep them away Marius proposed so to narrow the passage that only one man could go through at a time. All the nobility cried out against this audacity of an unknown young man, but Marius, in the presence of the senate, threatened the consul with imprisonment, and called on his officer to drag Metellus to prison. The nobles were not willing to engage in a fresh struggle for a matter of secondary importance, and the proposal became law. The people applauded. A few days later the tribune interposed to prevent a gratuitous distribution of corn; this assumption to dictate to both parties turned all against him. He failed, therefore, when he sought successively the two ædileships, and in 117 he was the last of the prætors elected. Even the reproach of having used bribery was brought against him on this occasion. The nobles at this time made a shew of great strictness. One of the friends of Marius, the senator Cassius Sabaco, had

Caius Marius.[2]

[1] He himself was not, however, their client; his father was C. Herennius. (Plut., *Mar.*, 5.)

[2] Statue in the Capitoline Museum. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 902, No. 2304.) The view of Arpinum is from the work by Marianna, *Viaggi in alcune città del Lazio*, pl. 48.

Arpinum.

taken the liberty of bringing his slave with him into the enclosure reserved for the senators, and the day being very hot, he had sent this slave to bring him water. For this offence the censors expelled him from the senate, either his testimony had been false, it was said, or he was guilty of having given the people an example of effeminacy. Marius himself was accused; among the witnesses summoned was C. Herennius, who refused his evidence because Marius was his client, and the law freed patrons from this liability. The judges admitted the plea. "But from the time when I was raised to office I have been no longer a client," said Marius, expecting from his patron favourable testimony. Plutarch, who relates the fact, adds: "But this was by no means the case, for only curule offices broke the bond of clientship, and Marius had not yet entered upon the office of prætor, his election having been contested." There was a tie in voting, and an acquittal was the result.

These accusations, this difficulty in making his way slackened the energy of Marius; he passed the year of his office in obscurity, so that it is not clearly known whether he held the urban or the foreign prætorship, nor did he distinguish himself the following year in his government of Farther Spain save by the vigour he displayed in repressing brigandage. On his return, the peasant of Arpinum sealed his peace with the nobles by a high marriage; he took for his wife the patrician Julia, the aunt of Cæsar, and Metellus, forgetting his conduct as tribune for the sake of his military talents, took him into Africa as his lieutenant.

III.—JUGURTHA.

Many races have passed over that fertile strip of land which fringes the great African desert, and in which lay the kingdom of Jugurtha. The Basque race, that impenetrable enigma of modern Europe, perhaps came from thence. If the light hair and the blue eyes still to be seen there reveal an infiltration of northern blood among these races, children of the burning sun, we may admit that descendants of those Vandals, who reigned in

the land during the last days of the Roman empire, are yet there. But to whom can we attribute those megalithic remains which seem to have been transported thither by some magic power from the heart of Brittany? Africa *portentosa*, the land of monsters, is also the land of insoluble problems. The Romans cared little for

Megalithic Remains: Dolmens of Sigus.[1]

these questions which interest us so deeply. Sallust, who informed himself concerning the traditions in the earliest books of the country, passes quickly over these obscure questions of origin; he speaks of but three peoples, the Numidians and the Moors, in the midst of whom Phœnician colonies had been established, and in the desert the Gætuli.[2]

From the date of the destruction of Carthage, the north of

[1] Delamare, *Explorat. scientif. de l'Algérie*, pl. 51, fig. 4

[2] The story Sallust tells is legendary, and yet, according to M. de Rougé, Egyptian documents show between the tribes of northern Africa and the races bearing sway upon the eastern shores of the Mediterranean relations of sufficient intimacy for a confederation to resist the

Africa was divided into three governments: on the west, the kingdom of Mauretania; in the centre and extending far into the desert,[1] that of the Numidians, which reached from *Mulucha* (Molouya) to the *Tusca* (Zaine); finally, beyond this river, the Roman province, the ancient Zeugitana, which the Numidian kingdom, stretching towards the Cyrenaica, surrounded on the south and east. But in the region of the Syrtes was a rich and important city, Leptis, which was well able to remain independent of the Numidian kings, and during the war of Jugurtha solicited the friendship of Rome and a Roman garrison.[3] Further to the east Cyrene and Egypt were devoted to Rome, and even on the Numidian coasts the senate had bestowed the title of allies upon several cities.

Coin of Leptis.[2]

The Mauri were but little known, and the trading posts that Carthage had scattered along their coasts had perished with her. But the Numidians or Nomads,[4] the Berbers or Kabyles of the present time had made themselves a great name during the second Punic war. They spoke a language whose traces have been discovered all the way from the Fortunate Islands (the Canaries) to the cataracts of the Nile. They were barbarians whose native shrewdness had been

Coin of Cyrene.[5]

encroachments of Egypt. In respect to the megalithic remains, now no longer called Druidic, they are to be found everywhere, and are possibly even now erected by certain tribes. Thus "it was formerly the custom in Kabylia to sanction important resolutions of the confederated bands in the following manner: at the time of meeting of the deliberate assembly, each tribe having the right to vote, set up in the ground a stone, and the whole number of these stones formed a circle around the place where the assembly had held its meeting; then, in case of failure of any tribe to keep to its agreement, the stone representing it was thrown down . . . . The last instance of conformity with this custom occurred 130 years ago." (Communication of M. Réné Galles to the *Acad. des inscriptions*, Sept. 10, 1869, inserted in the academy's *Memoirs*, vol. xxix. 1st part, p. 13.)

[1] *Gætulorum magna pars . . . . sub Jugurtha erat.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 19.)

[2] ΛΕΠΤΙΣ Β. Bust of Mercury. Reverse of a bronze coin of Tiberius, struck at Leptis.

[3] The request was made to Metellus during the siege of Thala.

[4] Νομάδες. (Strabo, ii. 131, xvii. 833, 837.

[5] Head of Jupiter Ammon. On the reverse, ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙ, and the plant which bears the silphium, a resinous gum (*assa fœtida*(?) or *laser*), which Cyrene exports in great abundance, and to which marvellous curative propertes are attributed. Tetradrachm of Cyrene.

developed by their dealings with the Carthaginians, with whom they had been obliged to contend in craft as in their deserts they contended against the gazelle, and in their mountains against the lion and the panther. Masinissa,[1] whom we have seen to be faithless and unscrupulous, but a gallant rider even at ninety years of age, is a characteristic representative of that race who with their swift horses[2] lived by the chase and by rapine rather than by agriculture. Their cultivated lands, however, stretched far along the valleys and by the sides of the brooks where the date-palm bears its delicious fruit. Upon the plains and along the hill sides, which were protected from drought by the great forests covering their tops, vast herds of cattle and flocks of sheep wandered the whole year long, without fold or shelter, wherever the pasture attracted them, but everywhere, too, decimated by the wild beasts, which were the true masters of the country. Presently, Rome, to secure to her populace amusements in the amphitheatre, made unceasing war upon the great carnivora, as France now does for the safety of her colonists, and like so many other royalties, that of the lion will soon cease. Meanwhile, in the neighbourhood of the cultivated ground a few cities had come into existence, perched on low hills or rocks well adapted for defence. Masinissa's conquest of several Carthaginian provinces, especially of the fertile Emporia, had increased their number, and Numidia contained in its western portion flourishing cities, whither Italian traders had already begun to find their way.[4] Thus, step by step, civilization had made its way among these nomads, attached them in part to the soil, multiplied objects of exchange, and brought gold into the hands of their princes.

Numidian Horse.[3]

Numidian Coin.[5]

[1] An inscription recently found at Delos gives this spelling to the name.

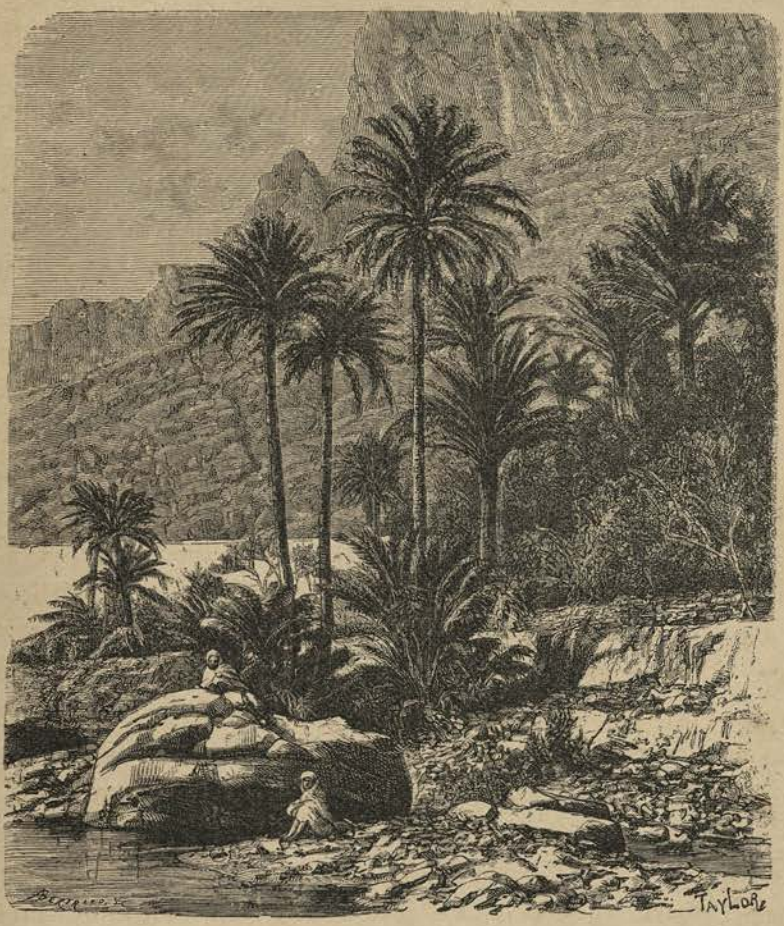
[2] It has been said that the camel was not imported into Numidia until a comparatively recent period, and that it was brought especially by the Mussulmans. This is an error. Juba had them in his army. (Cæs., *Bell. Afr.*, 68.)

[3] Reverse of a bronze medal of Carthage.

[4] To *Cirta* (Constantine), for example, and to *Vacca*, which the inscriptions call *Vaga*.

[5] Head of Masinissa or Juba. (Müller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Numidie*, iii. p. 16.)

A grandson of Masinissa believed he had enough to buy the city



Group of Numidian Palm Trees. (From a photograph.)

of Rome! This peaceful change went on, especially during the reign of Micipsa, who has been called the Philhellene.

Numidian Coin.[1]

This region was then a large and prosperous kingdom, the like of which had not before been seen in Africa, whose warlike population might have become formidable had not the policy of Rome been careful to keep it always divided. Upon the death of Masinissa, Scipio Æmilianus had already divided the kingdom between the three sons of the old king. A premature

[1] From a tetradrachm. Head of Hercules, crowned. (Müller, *op. cit.*, iii. p. 17.)

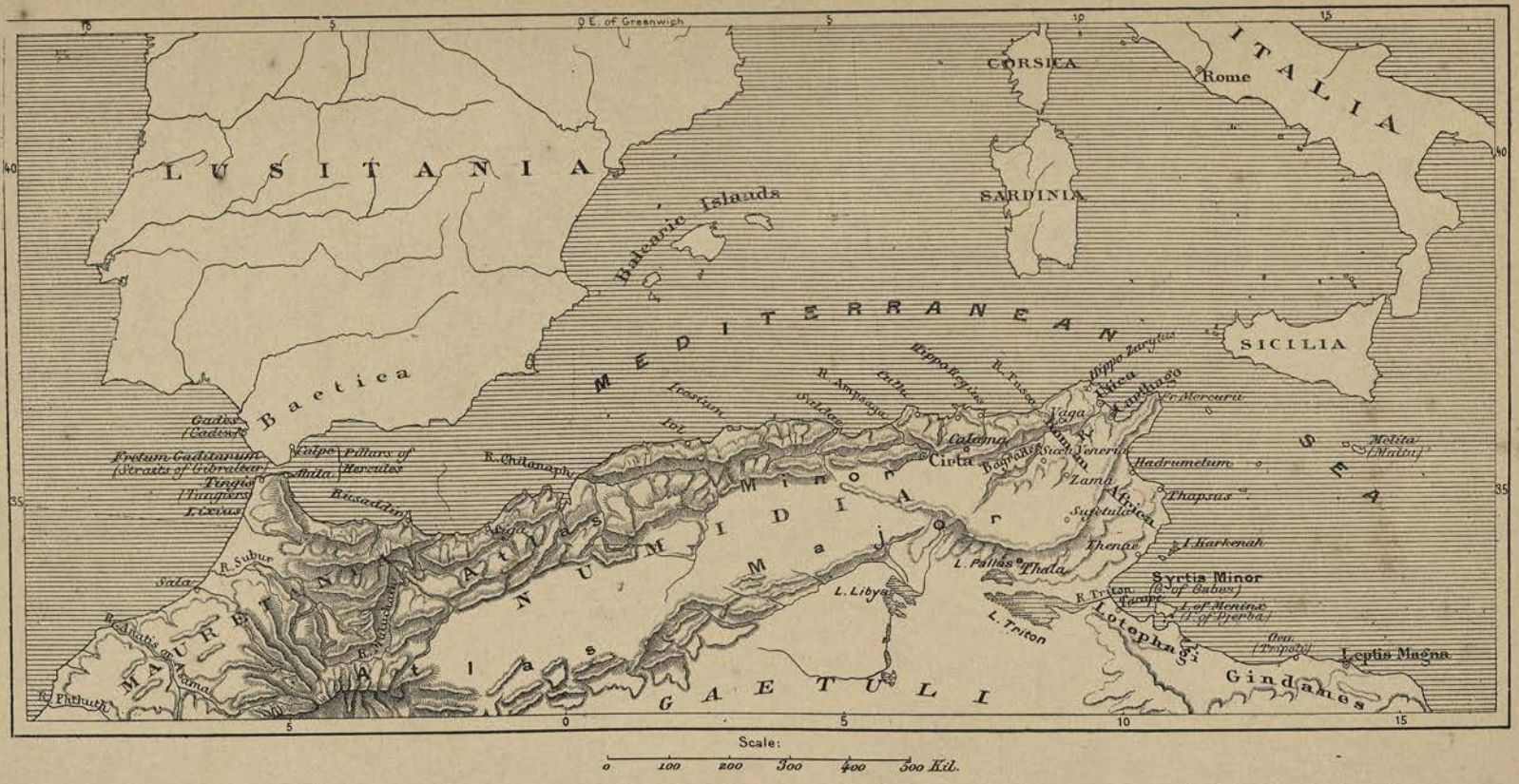
death carried off the two elder, and the third, Micipsa, remained sole king; he himself, however, had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, between whom it was his intention to divide the kingdom.

With his own children Micipsa had brought up a natural son of his brother Manastabal,[1] Jugurtha, who seemed to have inherited the indomitable courage and unscrupulous ambition of his grandfather Masinissa. Like him, Jugurtha was the best horseman in Africa, and no man was bolder in attacking the lion. Micipsa, seeing his nephew's reputation increasing daily, feared that he had nourished a rival for his sons, and hoping that war might rid him of this dangerous kinsman, he sent the young man with a body of troops to assist Scipio, at the time besieging Numantia. Jugurtha, however, profited by the opportunity to attach to himself the Romans of distinction who were in the camp, and from this expedition, which had increased his popularity with the Numidians, he returned full of ambitious projects, for he had discovered the fatal secret that with gold all was possible at Rome.[2] Scipio sent him back to Africa with brilliant compliments, and a letter to Micipsa, in which he said, "Your kinsman Jugurtha has given proof of the greatest valour; I know how much this will gratify you. His services have rendered him dear to me, and I shall do my utmost to make him also the friend of the senate and of the Roman people. He is worthy of you and of Masinissa, his grandfather." Was this a letter of honest compliments or of treacherous intent? Did Scipio propose to secure for Jugurtha such a position that Micipsa and his sons would be obliged to respect him? These Romans did nothing without good reason, and the latter hypothesis appears probable. At all events, Micipsa, uneasy at the ambition of the young man, believed it safer not to leave him to make his own way, but adopted him, and on his death left him a third part of the kingdom. He accompanied the gift, if we are to believe Sallust, with wise counsels on the necessity of union between the three rulers. They were but idle words, which Jugurtha, if he did indeed hear them, forgot

[1] These purely Phœnician names show that the great families of Numidia had lost in a degree their indigenous character.

[2] *Omnia Romæ venalia esse.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 20.)

A View among the Numidian Mountains: The Gorges of the Chiffa.



Map for the Jugurthine War.

as quickly as Caracalla did when Severus, to preach concord to his children, read to them upon his death-bed the words put by Sallust into the mouth of the Numidian king.

Adherbal, Hiempsal, and Jugurtha were to reign jointly. Quarrels begun at once among them, and Jugurtha, soon throwing off the mask, caused Hiempsal to be treacherously murdered. Adherbal, seeking to avenge his brother, was defeated, and fled for shelter into the Roman province (117); he went to Rome to plead his cause before the senate, but the envoys of Jugurtha publicly bought up votes, and the senate, whose policy required that Numidia should remain divided, contented themselves with a decree that ten commissioners should be sent out to divide the kingdom between the two princes.

Opimius, the chief of the embassy, was gained over to Jugurtha even before the embassy left Rome; the others yielded to the influence of Numidian gold, and Jugurtha obtained what he desired, the larger share in the possessions of Micipsa. He did not long remain contented with this, and the issue of the struggle between the princes was obvious: the one active, restless, ready at any moment to fight; the other feeble and timid.[1] First Jugurtha caused the territory of Adherbal to be ravaged, then he feigned a conspiracy on the part of this prince against his own life, and in response to the remonstrances of Adherbal he declared open war, which ended in a battle under the very walls of the royal city, Cirta (Constantine). Built upon a precipitous rock, and having but a single path of access, Cirta was at the time impregnable. Many Italian traders had established themselves there to utilize the resources of the country, which the Numidians were not able to work.[3] At the approach of Jugurtha and his bands of plunderers they took arms, and Adherbal, sheltered amidst

Coin of Cirta.[2]

[1] *Metuens magis quam metuendus.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 20.)

[2] Above a Numidian horse a Punic legend, interpreted by the Duc de Luynes, "Bomilcar, prefect of the camp," and by M. de Saulcy, "Bon-Melkart en Hanna" (Bomilcar, son of Hanna). Bronze coin, much worn.

[3] Many Italians at this time were settled in Asia Minor and many in Spain, which became so quickly Latinized. In thus invading the provinces and the allied countries Italy depopulated herself, as Spain in the sixteenth century was depopulated by emigration to the mines of the New World.

View of Cirta (Constantine). The Rocks.

them, was able to await for five months the result of his entreaties addressed to Rome. Two of his followers made their way by night through the besieging camp, and brought to the senate the humble supplications of the unfortunate prince. Some senators were desirous to send out an army at once, but the friends of Jugurtha succeeded in reducing it to a deputation, at whose head was M. Æmilius Scaurus.

This personage, at the moment one of the most influential in Rome, had long been in money difficulties. After having passed, as was the custom, through the offices of ædile and prætor, he sued for the consulship, and suddenly obtaining by fraudulent means a considerable property, was able to buy the popular vote (115).[1] Nevertheless he showed during his consulship a severity worthy of Cato. Being sent into the Cisalpina he submitted his army to a rigorous discipline, and imposed upon his soldiers the most arduous labours to drain the marshes of the Trebia.[2] His successes against the Carni were rewarded with a triumph, and shortly after he received the title of prince of the senate. Until this time he had shown himself unfriendly to Jugurtha; upon his arrival in Africa he wrote a menacing letter to that prince, directing him to come to Utica to receive the orders of the senate. Whether through weakness or through corruption Scaurus and his colleagues, after this demonstration, and after long and useless negotiating, withdrew from Africa, carrying with them a few fair words and doubtless much gold. They had not yet reached Rome when Adherbal, forced by famine to surrender, perished under tortures, together with the Italians who had defended him (112).[3] Perhaps this bold outrage might have remained

[1] The Scauri were a branch of the great patrician *gens*, the Æmilii; their surname or *cognomen* signifies club-footed. Sallust says of the person with whom we are now occupied: *homo . . . . factiosus, avidus potentiæ, honoris, divitiarum, cæterum vitia sua callide occultans.* (*Jug.*, 15.) Pliny speaks in the same tone, but Cicero and Tacitus are his eulogists. The spirit of party accounts for these contradictions. I note merely that he was born poor and died extremely rich. Now in the Rome of that time no man passed from one extreme to the other by honest means.

[2] He drained by means of navigable canals the whole plain from Parma to Placentia. Six years later, while censor, he paved the Aurelian road between *Pisa, Vada Sabatia,* and *Derthona,* etc.

[3] . . . . *Numidas atque negotiatores promiscue interficit.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 26.) Elsewhere he calls these *negotiatores, togati,* that is to say, Roman citizens. If they were so, they must have been of the very humblest class, or else Jugurtha spared them, and this was probably the case,

unpunished had not Memmius, a tribune, openly accused the nobles. The senate, compelled by popular indignation, declared that an army and a consul should at once be sent into Africa.

An Agrarian law of the same year (111), fixing the conditions of ownership of lands in Carthaginian Africa, seems to have been a precaution taken in order to put an end to many uncertainties among the allies and subjects of Rome, in respect to their rights as holders of property which were very diverse.[1] It was a regulation of general interest, and at the same time a means of preventing Jugurtha from stirring up dissensions in a Roman province surrounded by his kingdom.

The choice being made by lot, Numidia fell to Calpurnius, and the war which was so deeply to humiliate [2] the pride of the nobles, drew on apace.

The Numidian prince believed it still in his power to bring everything to a stand. He sent his son and two of his agents to Rome, with great store of gold; but Calpurnius obtained a decree forbidding them to enter the city, and requiring them to leave Italy within ten days. This was a good beginning. Calpurnius no doubt thought that he could command a higher price in Numidia than in Rome—at the head of his legions, than in

for the murder of Roman citizens would have caused at Rome an excitement sufficient to render the intervention of Memmius needless. On this point the susceptibility of Rome was as keen as that of England has been in corresponding cases.

[1] This law, of which many fragments remain to us, applies to the *ager publicus* in Italy, in Africa, and in Greece (*ager Corinthiacus*). (See *C. I. L.*, vol. i. p. 77.) It determined the various kinds of properties and possessions and their legal character—*ager publicus*, or lands belonging to the domain of the Roman people, and farmed out by them; *ager privatus ex jure Quiritium*, lands assigned to Roman colonists, and held by them in Quiritary ownership, although, like all parts of provincial territory, subject to the *tributum* (see p. 183, n. 6); *ager privatus ex jure peregrino*, domain of the allied cities, subject, as we have seen (p. 186), to diverse conditions. By degrees time effaced these differences, especially after the edict of Caracalla; under Diocletian there was no distinction between *possessio* and *proprietas* (*Fragm. Vatic.*, 283), but the distinction between the Italian and the provincial soil was not legally abolished until the time of Justinian. In regard to the law of 111, it has been explained in its legal details by Th. Mommsen in the *C. I. L.*, and M. Ernest Desjardins (*Géogr. de la Gaule rom.*, vol. ii. p. 292), in applying it to the colony of Narbo Martius, has shown that its provisions were susceptible of general applications. It seems to have been intended to make a general settlement of all the questions that had been so agitating to the public mind for the last twenty-two years by consolidating with full ownership the possession of public lands in Italy, Africa, and Greece in the hands of the existing occupants. It is possible that the anxieties caused at this time by Jugurtha, as well as a desire to put an end to the agrarian agitation, were influential in bringing forward this measure.

[2] . . . . *Tunc primum superbiæ nobilitatis obviam itum est.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 5.)

the senate, where he would have to share the spoils with many. In Africa he received the king in his camp and negotiated with him, requiring for the Republic thirty elephants, horses, a few cattle and some money; for himself and for his lieutenant Scaurus, enormous sums.

At news of this bargain Memmius burst forth with eloquence like that of Caius Gracchus.[1] "You have left your defenders shamefully to perish;" he says, "no matter; like them I will attack that haughty faction which for fifteen years is oppressing you. You were silently indignant when you saw the public treasury given up to pillage, and the tributes of kings and nations confiscated by a few men; but even this did not content them; it must needs be that they give up to your enemies your laws, your dignity, religion and the State. See them, far from blushing, pass before you, insolently displaying their pontifical honours, their consulships, their triumphs—no longer rewards of virtue, but of pillage. Good faith, honour, religion, justice, injustice—they traffick in everything. Slaves bought with money will not tolerate injustice, and you, Romans, born to command, endure servitude. And who are these men? They have slain your tribunes, shed the people's blood, and are become your masters, filling your timid souls with the terror that ought to pervade their own guilty consciences. Do you ask me what I want? I insist on the trial of those who have surrendered to the enemy the honour of the Republic, that they be prosecuted, upon Jugurtha's own testimony." The people, moved by these appeals, decreed that the most upright magistrate of the time, Cassius Longinus, should be sent into Africa to induce Jugurtha, the public honour being pledged for his safety, to appear in Rome, and testify concerning the underhand proceedings of M. Æmilius Scaurus and his accomplices. Relying upon the support of the nobles, Jugurtha obeyed the summons, but when Memmius bade him speak, another tribune, suborned by the Numidian for the purpose, ordered him to be silent.

Another Numidian prince, Massiva, was at this time in Rome,

[1] Sallust says that he selects this discourse out of many others by the same author "to transcribe," *perscribere*, and asserts that the words are nearly unchanged: *hujuscemodi verbis disseruit.* (*Jug.*, 30.) [The style, however, is so thoroughly Sallustian that we cannot regard it as even approximately accurate.—*Ed.*]

also a grandson of Massinissa. The consul, Sp. Postumius Albinus, eager for the opportunity of conducting a war, advised him to profit by the popular anger and demand for himself the crown of Numidia. Jugurtha caused the youth to be assassinated by one of his followers, Bomilcar, who succeeded in making his escape after committing the murder (110). This was too much, and the senate ordered the king to leave Rome instantly. Outside the gates Jugurtha turned back, and casting a look of contempt and hatred at the city is said to have exclaimed: "Venal city, all you want for your ruin is a purchaser."

Albinus followed him into Africa, and appeared to wish to prosecute the war with resolution; but Jugurtha, now fighting, now negotiating, secured delay, and the consul, recalled to Rome to hold the comitia, left the army in charge of his brother A. Postumius. In the hope of securing the royal treasures, Aulus led the troops by forced marches to Suthul, a place now unknown. In this sad story of the Republic's downfall we find treason at every step; the soldiers also were eager for the profits of venality, and a Ligurian cohort, two Thracian squadrons, a centurion, and even some legionaries went over to the enemy, or surrendered their posts. The defeated army, surrounded by the Numidians, passed under the yoke, and a treaty of peace was signed, one of its conditions being that the entire Roman army should be withdrawn from Numidia within ten days. This was Jugurtha's answer to the senate's decree which had ordered himself and his envoy out of Italy within the same period (109). Faithful to old traditions the senate annulled the shameful agreement which, moreover, the pro-prætor had no right to make, and Albinus returned in all haste; but he could do nothing with this army demoralized by disorder and defeat.

Again a tribune called for the punishment of this disgraceful conduct. Mamilius obtained a decree that all those who had accepted money from the Numidian king should be brought to justice. Scaurus, now directly threatened, had the skill to have himself put on the commission of inquiry. Four ex-consuls, however, were condemned, among them Opimius, the murderer of Caius Gracchus, who died in exile at Dyrrachium, obscure and disgraced.

This war, which had been regarded at first as a trifle, became

Cirta.—The Natural Bridge (Delamare, *Explor. scient. de l'Algérie*, pl. 158).

a cause of anxiety when another more formidable, that with the Cimbri, was perceived to be approaching. An upright and serious man, Q. Cæcilius Metellus, was made consul (109), and Africa fell to him by lot as his province. The first measures were to purify the army from brigandage, cowardice, and insubordination, and Metellus directed himself to this work aided by his lieutenant, Marius, and the stoic Rutilius Rufus, who both had learned under Æmilianus, in the siege of Numantia, that discipline is the sure pledge of victory. When the consul had restored to his soldiers their self-respect, he advanced into Numidia, not suffering himself to be delayed by the humble embassies of Jugurtha, and gaining over the kings own deputies that they should deliver up Jugurtha alive or dead;[1] speaking of peace, but still advancing, and always in good order, as far as Vaga,[2] where a great number of Italian traders had established themselves, and where he now placed a garrison. Being thus master of this important place which kept open his communications with the Roman province, and secured his supplies, Metellus went in search of Jugurtha, and in an action which lasted the entire day, defeated him on the banks of the *Muthul*[3] (the Oued-Seybouse) which falls into the sea at *Hippo Regius* (Bona) (108). This victory was followed by the defection of many cities: *Sicca* (el-Kef) surrendered to the Romans, and became their depot for eastern Numidia; Cirta, it is probable, opened her gates to them at this time, and Jugurtha, by degrees abandoned by all his troops except his irregular cavalry[4] was reduced to begin a form of guerilla warfare, in the hope of regaining what he had lost.

Numidia, bristling with mountains which are cleft by the beds of rapid streams, is only a succession of valleys and steep heights rendering the advance of an army extremely difficult, and furnishing constant opportunities for surprises. Countries such as this, inhabited by a half-nomad race of men, devoted to their king

[1] Frontinus (i. 8) says that Metellus followed this plan with the two-fold design to terminate the war if possible by the treachery of the Numidians, or in any case to give Jugurtha cause to be suspicious of all those who surrounded him.

Bejah, upon the river Bejah, a branch of the Medjerdah, and twenty kilometers distant from the main river.

[3] Muthul is probably the African name of the river that the Romans called *Ubus*.

[4] *Præter regios equites.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 54.)

whom they regarded as the national hero, could not be gained by a single victory, but required a thousand petty engagements. Each valley must be carried, as if it were a city; each mountain, as if it were a fortress. Metellus resigned himself to the necessity; all the fertile plains were ravaged, the cities burned, the fighting men slain. Jugurtha tracked him among the mountains, hovering about the heavy Roman infantry, not daring, however, to fling his swift cavalry upon them to be broken by the shock, but stopping provision trains, carrying off foraging parties, cutting off supplies of water, and himself laying the country waste. When the consul, for the purpose of approaching the Roman province, besieged Zama,[2] twice the king nearly succeeded during an assault, in capturing the Roman camp. This siege was the close of the campaign; Metellus garrisoned the places he had conquered, and then went into quarters in the province.

An Elephant and his Driver.[1]

The larger part of eastern Numidia had submitted to the Romans; Sicca, Vaga, Cirta the capital, and all the cities of the coast were garrisoned by the invaders. The king was afraid to see the war recommence, and, upon the advice of Bomilcar, who, knowing himself under sentence at Rome for the murder of Massiva, had in a secret interview made terms with Metellus,[3] sued for peace, giving up 200,000 pounds of silver, all his elephants, numbers of horses, weapons, and all the refugees who had not had time to escape into Mauretania. But when he received orders to appear in person before the consul, he could not make up his mind to do it, and Metellus, continued in his command by the senate, resumed hostilities, still keeping what Jugurtha had surrendered to him.

Up to this time, Marius had loyally seconded his chief. Before Zama he had saved the camp, and had nearly been successful in taking the city. Being sent to Sicca to escort a provision train, he had, although falling into an ambush, defeated

[1] Reverse of a tetradrachm of Jugurtha. (De Brosses, *Hist. de la rép. rom.*, i. pl. iii. No. 7.)

[2] The position of this place has not been determined; it is perhaps Yana, near Keff, five days journey to the south-west of Carthage.

[3] The plot was discovered, and Jugurtha put the traitor to death.

the Numidian cavalry and retained the city on the side of Rome. In action no man was more intrepid; in the camp and on the march, no one so indefatigable. Metellus was stern and haughty; in his lieutenant, the severe tone of command was tempered at times by more popular manners, and he commanded nothing which he was not himself ready to undertake. It was to him therefore that the soldiers ascribed all the successes of the campaign, and already the soothsayers predicted for him a lofty fortune, which the African traders, the publicans, and even the army aided to bring about, by writing to Rome "that the war would never be brought to a close unless Marius was appointed consul." [2]

Roman Soldier.[1]

He was at this time forty-eight years of age; he had held the offices of tribune and prætor and had been the governor of a province; he coveted the consular fasces, but the nobles had for many years resolutely closed the supreme office against new men, and "passed the consulship from hand to hand." [3] In fourteen years the office had been held six times in the family of the Metelli alone; and when Marius asked his general's permission to go to Rome to present himself as a candidate for the consulship, Metellus, amazed at his strange audacity bade him dismiss

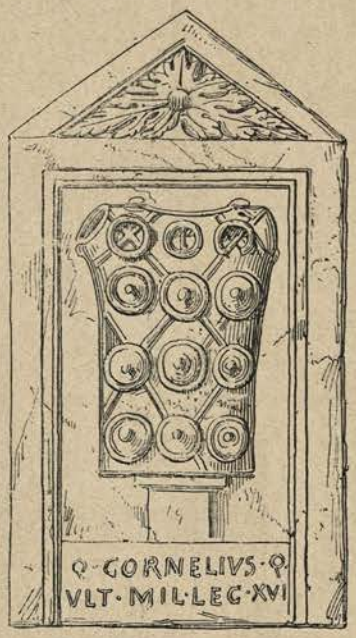
[1] Celebrated statue in the Gallery of Florence. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 850, No. 2155.)

[2] Plut., *Mar.*, 7.

[3] . . . . *Consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 63.)

such notions from his mind and make his desires conform to his condition, adding that it would be time enough for Marius to think of it when the consul's son, then about twenty years of age, should be ready to present himself as a consular candidate.

Wounded in his ambition and in his pride, Marius no longer restrained his hatred of Metellus; in the presence of the soldiers he blamed the proconsul's harshness, at Utica[1] he promised the Italian traders, to whom this war was ruinous, that in a few days he would take Jugurtha dead or alive, if but half of the troops



Cuirass, ornamented with *phalerœ* (*military rewards*) upon a Tomb.[2]

Collar and Decorations worn by a Centurion.

in Africa were given him. A cruel vengeance has ever been attributed to him. In an insurrection of the inhabitants of Vaga, all the Roman garrison had been massacred, with the exception of Turpillius, the officer in command, a friend and host of Metellus. A council of war condemned Turpillius, and, as he had only the *jus Latii* he was beaten with rods,[3] and then beheaded, and it is

[1] Now Ben-Chali, upon the Medjerdah, ten kilometers from its mouth.

[2] From Otto Jahn.

[3] This instance proves that the law of Drusus (see p. 434) which provided that a Latin should not suffer this punishment had been abolished during the reaction, or was no longer observed.

said that Marius boasted of having, by this condemnation, brought an avenging fury on the proconsul. The sentence was, however, just; for if Turpillius had not actually been guilty of treason, he had at least by his negligence caused the death of all the Roman force.[1] The remark attributed to Marius must therefore be regarded as one of the very long list of apocryphal sayings. Metellus at last gave way, but only twelve days before the meeting of the consular comitia; Marius, however, made such haste that he arrived in Rome on the seventh day.[2]

Histrion.[4]

Since the success of Memmius and the *Mamilian law*,[3] above mentioned, the tribunes had recovered their courage. Both by his reputation and by his hatred to the nobles, Marius deserved their support. They proposed his name; the citizens of the rustic tribes came in

[1] Sallust says of Turpillius (*Jug.*, 67): *improbus, intestabilisque videtur*, and he adds (69) that his defence did not justify him. Metellus caused the whole senate of Vaga to be massacred, the Thracian and Ligurian deserters had their hands cut off, they were then buried to the waist in the earth, and the army drawn up around them in a ring, finished them with arrows.

[2] [This shows how good both sailing ships and roads were, and how completely the Romans had perfected their means of travelling.—*Ed.*]

[3] See p. 464.

[4] Statue in the Vatican, found at Præneste upon the site of the forum. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 874, No. 2224.)

crowds to vote for the peasant's son from Arpinum, and he was elected. The people, who never go half way either in favour or in hate, annulled a decree of the senate maintaining Metellus in his post, and gave to Marius the province of Numidia. From that time the arrogance of Marius was unbounded; he reiterated publicly that his consulship and his province were *spolia opima* won from the nobles. Sallust has composed for him insulting speeches, which are probably far more polished than the rude soldier's harangues. But no doubt he did castigate, in his rude language, the cupidity, the pride, and the folly of the nobles — the three vices, he said, which had hitherto served Jugurtha.

Even more serious than this offensive language, was his action in admitting the proletarii into the legions.[1] This measure was nothing less than a complete revolution. Up to this time there had been enrolled only men who, possessing some property, left to the Republic a pledge of their fidelity; under the standard these soldiers were still citizens. When Marius had armed the populace, military service was no longer a civic duty, but a trade, and the penniless man who sold his vote in the city, sold his courage in the camp. During the next eighty years the legions were no longer the armies of the Republic, but the followers of leaders who bribed them with indulgences, with plunder, and with glory.

IV.—The Command of Marius in Numidia (107—105).

The senate was not disposed to irritate by an idle resistance the popular opposition which was reforming around Marius. Preparations, therefore, were hurried forward; whatever Marius required—arms, provisions, equipments, money—he obtained without difficulty, and his departure was hastened by news of the further successes of Metellus.

This general, at the opening of his third campaign had once

[1] *Ipse milites scribere, non more majorum, neque ex classibus, sed uti cujusque lubido erat, capite censos plerosque* (Sall., *Jug.*, 86), and he adds this very truthful expression: *homini potentiam quærenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus.*

more dispersed the Numidian army, and driven Jugurtha back into the desert. With a few of his "royal horsemen" and the deserters the king gained the stronghold of Thala, where were his children and his treasures. Metellus did not shrink from risking his army in these arid wastes. Between Thala and the nearest river, for a distance of fifty miles, stretched the desert.[1]

Metellus left all his baggage behind him; he collected a great number of beasts of burden which he loaded with ten days' provisions and a supply of water; then he organized provision-trains that the people of the country were to bring to him on fixed days. He was in this way able to persist forty days in the siege of Thala, without incurring serious danger, but when the city at last fell, Jugurtha had already made his escape, carrying off his treasures. Threatened by treason, and pursued unremittingly by a determined foe, this prince knew not where to take shelter. For a long time he wandered in the deserts of the Gætuli, where his reputation and his treasures attracted to him these wild Nomads; he armed and disciplined them, and then returning into Numidia at the head of a large force, he negotiated with his father-in-law, Bocchus, king of Mauretania. This prince, irritated at the beginning of the war by the senate's refusal to accept his alliance, saw with terror the repeated disasters of Jugurtha. His son-in-law had little difficulty in obtaining his assistance, and the two kings uniting their forces marched towards Cirta under whose walls Metellus was entrenched. Here the consul was established when he received news that he had been superseded in the command, and that his hated rival was approaching. Not willing to meet Marius, he gave Rutilius the duty of delivering up the army to its new general, and himself hastened to Rome, where a triumph and the surname Numidicus was obtained for him by his friends. A tribune however accused him

[1] The author is indebted to M. Ernest Desjardins for the following note: "*Thala* still retains its early name, and is situated in the upper valley of Oued-Serral, an affluent on the right of the Oued-Mellègue, which itself falls into the Medjerdah, likewise from the right. Grenville Temple has discovered immense ruins here, *oppidum magnum et opulentum*, which M. Guérin has visited and described. (*Voy. en Tun.*, vol. i. p. 338–341). Thala is situated 130 kilometers due south, as the bird flies, from Cape Roux and La Calle. Sallust places Thala fifty miles from the nearest river. It is certain, however, that a water course, the Oued-Haïdrah, is not very distant from it; the text of Sallust is here without doubt corrupt. No city can be found in this region which is fifty miles distant from the nearest river.

of extortion, but when he presented his statement to the judges they would not examine it and pronounced him innocent.

Meanwhile the war was not yet ended. Jugurtha and Bocchus, keeping at a safe distance and in inaccessible places, followed from afar the movements of the new army of Marius, hoping to find opportunity to fall upon his untried legions. But the consul, skilfully served by spies, knew from day to day what his enemy was doing, and outwitted him in all his attempts. In many skirmishes he defeated the Gætuli. and once in an encounter near Cirta nearly killed Jugurtha with his own hand. Thus having hardened his troops and trained them to African warfare, he returned to the tactics of Metellus. Of all this general's exploits the most vaunted had been the taking of Thala. Marius advanced still further into the desert, and, in the midst of a plain infested with serpents, attacked the city of Capsa,[1] taking it in a day without the loss of a single soldier, which did not, however, prevent him from burning the city, killing all the young men and selling the rest of the inhabitants. Many other cities were taken, or abandoned without resistance by their inhabitants, and burnt.

Until this time the war had been concentrated in that part of Numidia which bordered on the Roman province; Marius now carried it into the opposite quarter, upon the frontiers of Mauretania.

Not far from the *Mulucha*, or *Malva*, a river making the boundary between Numidia and Mauritania, there rises in the midst of a plain a rocky elevation crowned by a strong fortress, to which but a single narrow footpath gave access, leading along the edge of steep precipices. Here Jugurtha had placed a part of his treasures, an abundant supply of provisions, and a good garrison, who were secured against thirst by an abundant supply of water. A place like this could not be attacked by the ordinary methods, and at the same time, Marius was extremely anxious to take it. A Ligurian in the auxiliary cohorts having one day gone out after water, had passed round the base of the hill, and chanced to see, on the farther side, snails crawling

[1] Capsa, 230 kilometers south of the Calle and 120 west of the Gulf of Gabes in 34′, 30 north latitude, and 6′, 30 east longitude.

View of the Numidian Desert (Environs of Biskra).

upon the face of the rock. Desiring to add them to his bill of fare, he clambered up some distance, and in the ardour of his pursuit, went so high that he came to an oak whose top reached the level of the plateau. From the branches of the tree he could leap down upon it, and he beheld at his feet the fortress, and the garrison upon the ramparts, mocking the vain efforts of the Romans. Upon this soldier's report, Marius gave orders to four active trumpeters, and to four of his bravest centurions, to repeat the Ligurians feat. They followed him, each man bearing upon his back his sword and a leathern shield, which was light and made no clashing to betray their approach. The Ligurian led them like a true Alpine guide. So they reached the top. All the garrison were upon the walls, occupied in repulsing a violent attack of the Romans. But when the trumpets were heard in the rear, and above them, they thought the whole Roman army was within the fortress and took to flight.[2]

Sylla.[1]

It was during this siege, that Sylla, the quæstor of Marius, joined him with a corps of Latin cavalry. It would have been difficult to bring together two men more opposite in character. Sylla, a member of the illustrious Cornelian family, but of a branch which had hitherto been obscure, was a man of the new school, loving luxury and elegance as cordially as Marius detested them. Lavish of his money as of his friendship, eager for glory, brave, eloquent, with an enthusiasm and energy which nothing could check, he soon became a favourite both with soldiers and officers; and even Marius loved this young noble who did not rely upon his ancestors (106).

Jugurtha had lost his cities and his ports. To induce Bocchus to risk a general engagement, the Numidian's last hope, he promised his ally the third of his kingdom. The Roman army, surprised by the two kings upon a march, was, so to speak, besieged during the night upon a hill; but at daylight, the legions

[1] From a coin. (Clarac, *Icon. rom.*, pl. 1049, No. 3205.)

[2] Sall., *Jug.*, 92–94, who gives a detailed description.

recovered the advantage, and made a massacre among the Mauretanians and Gætuli. A second attempt to surprise the legions near Cirta had a momentary success. In the confusion of the attack, Jugurtha cried out to the Romans, holding up his bloody sword, that he had slain their general, and the legionaries began to give way, when Sylla and Marius himself rushed in among them. The fortune of the day at once turned, and the two kings only escaped by a hasty flight.

Coin of Sylla.[1]

The fidelity of Bocchus gave way before this double disaster. Five days after the battle, he made proposals to treat with the Romans. Marius despatched the king's messengers to the senate, who made reply that the Roman people never forgot either injuries or benefits; that they pardoned Bocchus in consideration of his repentance, but that the alliance and the friendship of Rome could only be obtained when he should have succeeded in deserving them—an ominous reserve which the barbarian readily understood. Upon new solicitation from Bocchus, Marius entrusted to his quæstor the dangerous mission of traversing all Numidia and a part of Mauretania, for the purpose of conferring with the king. The rhetoricians seized upon this situation to draw a dramatic picture of the vacillations of Bocchus, one day proposing to deliver Jugurtha to the Romans, and on the next to give up Sylla to the Numidian king.[2] The former of these acts would end the war and secure to Bocchus a province, the latter would draw upon himself all the vengeance of Rome, without adding one chance for his success. He could not even have thought of it. Jugurtha, summoned to a conference, was loaded with chains and delivered to Sylla, who made him traverse his whole kingdom in this condition (106).

It was the custom that a victorious general should not leave

[1] From a coin of the Cornelian *gens*.

[2] Appian shows that the project of giving up Jugurtha had been long determined on (*Numid.* fragm., 4). Sallust believes in the hesitations of Bocchus, but his own narrative proves them fictitious. Jugurtha was still at the head of a numerous and devoted band; he had spies among the Mauretanians, and at the least suspicion would have fallen back into the desert. To induce him to leave his own people and present himself at a conference where he might be seized, much duplicity was needful. Bocchus, who had for a long time been negotiating with Marius, used all that the case required, and the treachery was consummated.

the country he had conquered until he had organized it for the best advantage of Rome. Marius remained for nearly two years more in Numidia. It would be interesting to know what he was doing there; but the battles, exploits, and dramatic situations were over; the achievements of peace, the labours of prudence give no scope for eloquence. Sallust says not a word about them, and ends his history with the capture of Jugurtha.

Captive Province.[2]

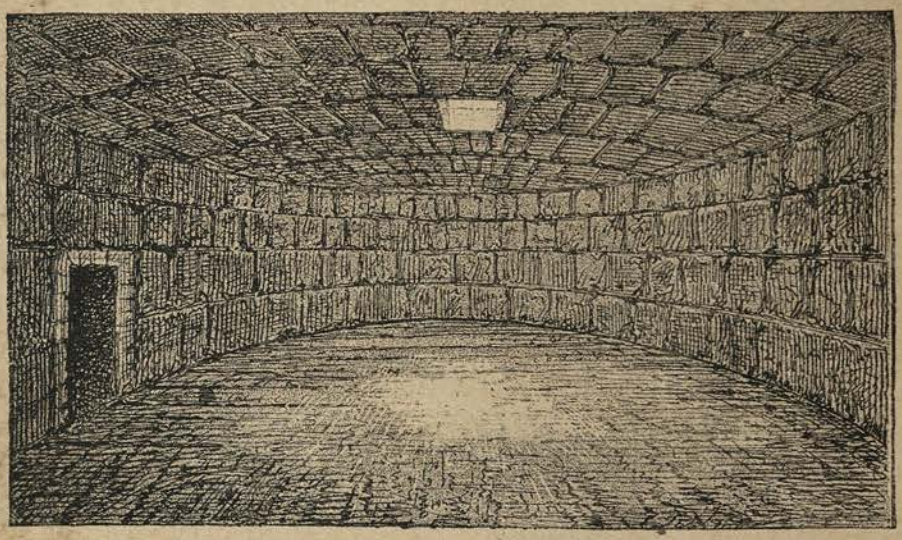
Before leaving Africa, Marius determined the destiny of the conquered kingdom, and, by skilfully distributed favours, he made clients there whose descendants were found by Cæsar faithful to the hereditary friendship.[1] Bocchus received Western Numidia (the provinces of Algiers and Oran); and the Roman province of Africa was aggrandized by a portion of Eastern Numidia; what remained was ceded to Gauda, the last surviving prince of the old royal house. The senate had at this moment too serious matters on hand to embarrass themselves with forming a new province in a country which was still ungovernable, because there was no force which Rome could use to hold it. Far better was the policy to abandon

[1] Cf. Cæsar, *Bell. Afr.*, 35.

[2] Statue in the Pamfili collection. (Clarac, *Mus.*, pl 768 A, No. 1906 B.)

this enfeebled kingdom to princes whom the senate could easily keep dependent upon Rome, until it should be found best to replace them by proconsuls.[1] Patient, because she believed herself eternal, Rome always made allowance in her policy for the effect of time, which gave her immense strength. Meanwhile, until the moment for annexing Numidia should arrive, the original province of Africa would be a centre whence Roman civilization would radiate through the barbarian kingdom.

Marius returned to Rome on the first day of January, 104, bringing Jugurtha with him. Far from feeling envy towards his



The Tullianum.[2]

quæstor who was at that time but a very unimportant person, he associated Sylla in his triumph, allowing him to distribute medals

[1] The Numidians were divided into many tribes, frequently at war with one another. In the province of Africa where centralization had been strongest, Pliny was still able to enumerate twenty-six different tribes. (*Hist. Nat.*, v. 4.) Appian (*Lybica*, 10) says the same thing.

[2] The Tullianum was so named, it is said, from Servius Tullius, who is believed to have had it excavated in the *tufa* of the Capitoline Hill, perhaps to use it as a cistern; a spring also, named from the king, still rises in it, and the water was drawn up through the aperture seen in the arched top. The condemned person was let down by a rope, and after death, the body was drawn up by a hook. Possibly the small door which opens into a low subterranean passage-way, may be of later date, and may have served for the bodies to be dragged to the river, when it was not desired to expose them upon the *gemoniæ*, that is the *Stair of Sighs*, which led to the prison. Prisoners of State not condemned to death were given in charge to the inhabitants of the most important municipia in Italy. Cf. Sall., *Cat.*, 51 and 52.

to the soldiers, representing the consul in a quadriga, on the reverse being these words: *L. Corn. Sylla proq.* After the triumph the Numidian king was thrown into the Tullianum. "By the gods," he cried, laughing, "how cold your baths are!" Here after six days he perished by starvation (104). He had the rashness to contend single handed against Rome, defending himself with a skill that made use of all weapons, whether steel or gold, but also with an indomitable courage. His vices are those of his time and his African blood; his courage, his perseverance, and his soldierly virtues do honour to his name, and to the race whose political existence ended with his life.

Nine years after this, the senate pursued the same course in another part of Africa as this which they had adopted in Numidia.

Between the eighth and the eighteenth degree of east longitude the African coast retreats before the Mediterranean in a great semi-circle, called the region of the Syrtes, an inhospitable sea into which even our vessels rarely venture, a sterile coast[1] of shifting sand, where nomads pitilessly pillage the shipwrecked sailor. But at the two extremities of this semi-circle there are mountainous regions, well watered and of proverbial fertility. One of these the Phœnicians occupied, and the Greeks the other. To the former the Romans had already succeeded, and the will of Ptolemy Apion king of Cyrenaica now substituted them for the latter (95). The senate, however, contented themselves with declaring the five principal cities of this little kingdom free, under the protection of Rome: Cyrene and Apollonia, which was the seaport, and Barca, Arsinoe and Berenice. They were left even in the possession of the royal domain on payment of a tribute, and the country was not reduced to a province until about the year 75, when it became necessary to suppress its domestic quarrels. This was also a precious acquisition to Rome as a political position, not to speak of the commercial importance of the country which furnished for exportation the products of a soil called the garden of Africa, and a commodity, the silphium, which was sold at Rome for its weight in silver. From the Cyrenaica, Rome kept

[1] Except upon the borders of the Cinyps (*Wadi Quasam*), and about the three cities of Tripoli—*Leptis magna, Oea* (Tripoli), and *Sabrata*.

watch upon Egypt, and from the province of Africa upon Numidia.

Leptis, in the midst of the Syrtes, but at the outlet of fertile valleys, had solicited the friendship of Rome during the Numidian war, and had obtained from Metellus a garrison of four Ligurian cohorts. This place, nearly equidistant from Cyrene and Carthage, united these two Roman possessions and completed the investment of the African coast.

[1] This pretended coin of Ptolemy is a coin of the Cyrenaica with the legend KUP KOLN struck over a coin of Ptolemy Soter, with Berenice on the reverse.

Ptolemy Apion.[1]

CHAPTER XL.

THE CIMBRI AND TEUTONES (113-101).

I.—Creation of a Roman Province in Gaul.

TREACHERY had not yet ended the Numidian war when a formidable invasion of Northern barbarians threw Rome into extreme alarm, and all, people and nobles alike, united to confer a second consulate upon the absent Marius.

Up to this period the Romans had never gone far from the Mediterranean coasts. They had not even looked into that unknown world which stretched beyond the Alps, as if they had been vaguely conscious that, in the darkness of those impenetrable forests, some formidable danger lay concealed.

It was indeed another world. The Alps, which we may regard as connected with the Pyrenees by the Cevennes, and with Mount Hæmus by the Illyrian and Macedonian ranges, cut the continent of Europe in twain. On the south of this line of 800 leagues are three mountainous peninsulas, in which, before the time of Rome, every valley was an independent State; on the north, stretch limitless plains, the cradle of great nations that were to come. On the shores of the Mediterranean were Iberian, Italiot and Greek races, cities brilliant with all the splendours of art and commerce, governments of republican mould—in a word, all that we call ancient civilization; beyond the Alps, there were Celtic, Germanic and Slavonic tribes, barbaric manners, encampments here and there, a nomadic or unsettled life, the authority of chiefs, and, in the germ, many of the customs which the mediæval period inherited. Rome had not sought to cross their barrier; her legions had not even as yet claimed possession of it. Even after the victory of Appius Claudius (143), who had made an attempt to lay hands upon the gold mines and washings of the valley of the

Doria Baltea, the Salassi had remained independent, like all the mountaineers of the Alps, and continued to ravage, in predatory expeditions, the valleys on the north of the Po.[1] To bring this to an end, the Romans later (100) founded a military post at *Eporedia* (Ivrea), at the entrance to the Val d' Aosta, and at the mouth of two important Alpine passes, the Great and the Little St. Bernard. The Salassi, however, were not finally tranquillized till the time of Augustus.

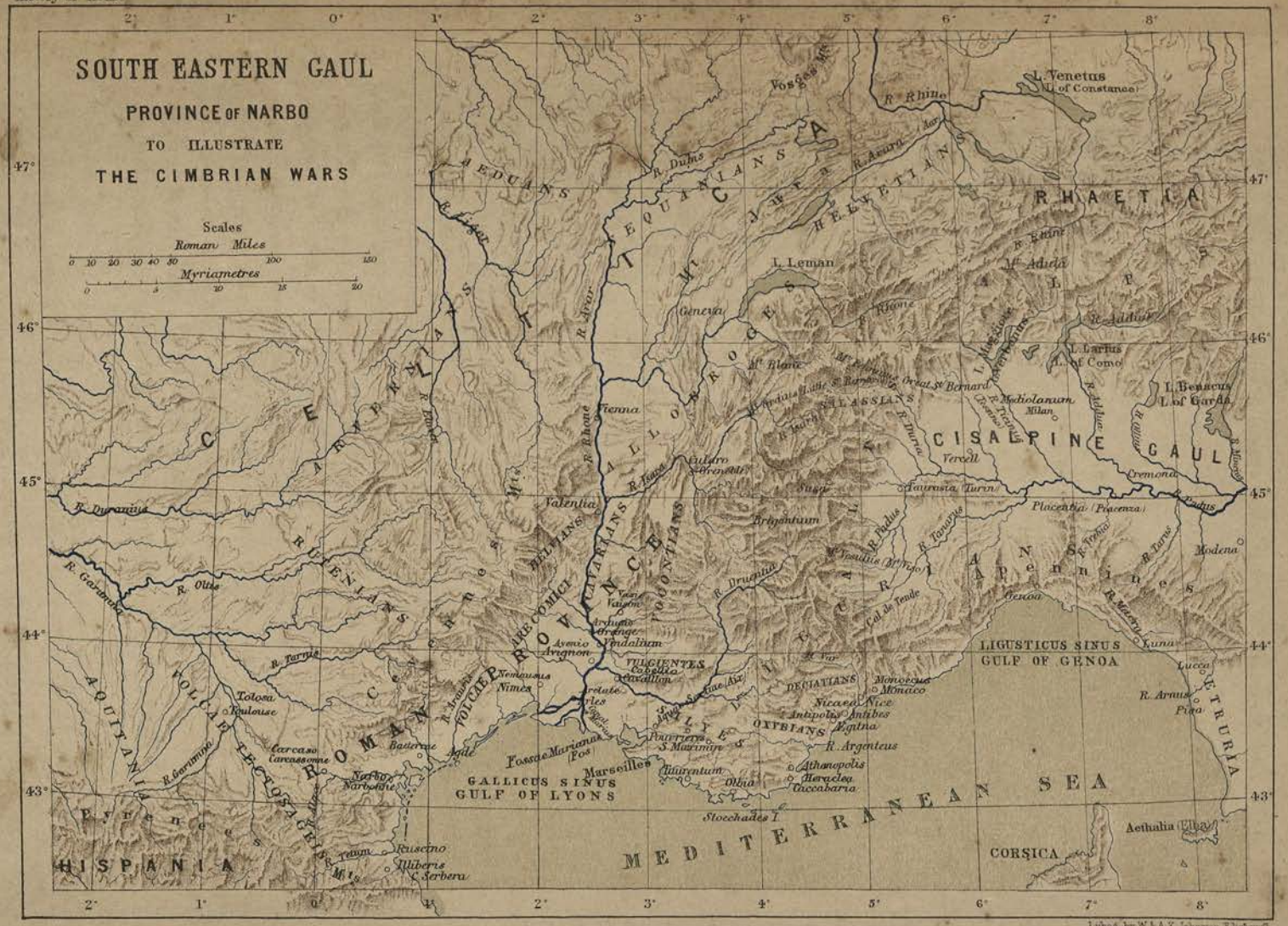
By degrees, however, the senate was tempted to abandon its reserve, and to pierce this line. It became necessary to open a secure road from Italy eastward and westward, into Greece and into Spain, and to protect against the aggressions of the mountain tribes the allies of Rome living along these two highways. This was the design of the expeditions of Marcius Rex into the Maritime Alps against the Stœni, none of whom suffered himself to be taken alive (118), and of Æmilius Scaurus against the Carni of Venetia (115); of many consuls against tribes hostile to the Massiliots; lastly of Porcius Cato against the Scordisci of the Illyrian Alps (Bosnia and Servia), a savage race who made no prisoners, who drank from the skulls of their enemies, and mutilated the dead slain in battle. Cato perished with all his army, and the barbarians extended their ravages over the whole of Illyria (114); then, moving eastward, they overran all the countries lying north of Greece. But in Macedon and Thrace they encountered legions better handled, and were by degrees driven back upon the Danube.[3] These successes and the subjugation of the Carni by Scaurus secured for the Romans the barrier of the Eastern Alps, while the destruction of the tribe of the Stœni opened to them the Maritime Alps (118); and their earliest ventures beyond these mountains had been made seven years before.

Massiliot coin.[2]

[1] Strabo, iv. p. 205; Vell. Paterculus, i. 15.

[2] Head of Diana; on the reverse, a lion and the first letters of the city's name MAΣΣA. Massiliot drachme.

[3] Livy, *Ep.* lxiii.; Eutr., iv. 24. A Metellus (113), Livius Drusus (112), and Minucius (109), drove them out of Thrace. (Clinton, *Fasti Hell.*) On the subject of a Gallic invasion of Macedon, in 117, see *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1875, p. 78. To the north of Aquileia are rich gold mines which attracted the Italians hither. (Strabo, iv. p. 208.)



Lithog. by W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh

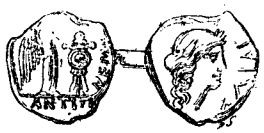
Thanks to the wisdom of a government which in some aspects resembled the Roman, Marseilles had been for four centuries fortunate and prosperous. The destruction of Etruria, of

Monument at Entremont.[1]

Magna Grecia, and of Carthage had given her opportunity to become the greatest commercial city of the West. Moreover, she cultivated early the friendship of the people who had destroyed

[1] This design is given and explained by M. E. Desjardins, *Géographie de la Gaule romaine*, vol. ii. p. 111–114.

her rivals and left her the sea. But like Venice, Marseilles was not content with ruling the seas, she desired to have provinces, and like Venice, she lost her wealth, and then her liberty, in the attempt. All the sea-coast from the Pyrenees to the Alps, from Ampurias to Monaco, was covered with her trading-posts.[1] But these centres of peaceful traffic were surrounded by warlike tribes who were wont to have sanguinary contests with one another, and with the Gauls their neighbours. A curious souvenir of the people is extant, three square stones, discovered at Entremont near Aix, each of which has a bas-relief on three of its sides. It is the most ancient relic of Gallic sculpture, and tells of very barbaric art and of very savage manners. Massilia had often to complain of these neighbours, and her colonists by their continual encroachments provoked from the Ligurians more than one troublesome attack. To put an end to these conflicts, Massilia had recourse to the senate, and a Roman envoy, sent out as arbiter, seeking to land near Antibes, was repulsed by the inhabitants and wounded; upon this, an army was sent against the offending tribes, the Oxybii and the Deciates. These poor mountaineers could make no stand against the legions; they were obliged to give hostages and submit to being disarmed, and were placed in subjection to the Greek city.



Coin of Antibes.[1]

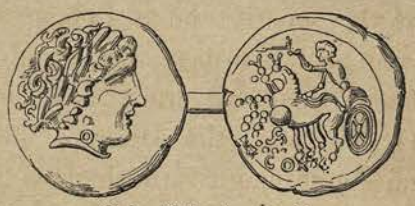
Fresh complaints again brought the Roman legions, this time against the Salyes (125). Fulvius Flaccus, the friend of the Gracchi, and after him, Sextius, defeated them. The latter forbade these tribes to approach nearer than 1,500 paces from the landing-places, and 1,000 from the rest of the coast, and the entire shore was given up to the Massiliots who were to guard it in the interests of Rome. The Vocontii, against whom Marseilles had made no complaint, shared the fate of the Ligurians; but this time Rome kept what she had conquered; she established herself permanently between the Rhone and the Alps by founding, in a beautiful situation abounding in warm springs, a *castellum*, called

[1] See Desjardins, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 140–186.

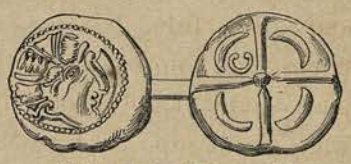
[2] Head of Venus. On the reverse, Victory erecting a trophy, and the name ANTIII. The remainder of the legend is of doubtful reading and signification. Copper coin of Antipolis (Antibes).

by the name of the proconsul, *Aquæ Sextiæ*—Aix (122). Instead of barbarous tribes, who were in reality not very dangerous, Massilia saw herself now surrounded by the possessions of her ally. She ought to have foreseen that this circle would one day close in upon herself.

The city of the Aquæ Sextiæ was hardly established, before Roman activity began to stir up all the nations in the valley of the Rhone. Three great tribes bore sway there, having important auxiliaries: on the right bank of the river, the Arverni, whose territory stretched westward beyond the mountainous region which yet bears their name (Auvergne); on the left bank, as far as the Isara, the Allobroges; and between the Saône and the Loire, the Ædui. This latter tribe, hostile to the others, consented to an alliance with Rome, and the consul, Domitius Ahenobarbus, taking into account that the Ædui could, in case of need, make an important diversion, sent haughtily to claim a Salyan chief who had taken refuge with the Allobroges. For sole reply, the latter armed, and came down as far as *Vindalium*, at the confluence of the Rhone and the Sorgue, where the Romans awaited them, and 20,000 barbarians perished by the sword of the legions (121). The following year the Romans, led by Fabius, the brother of Scipio Æmilianus, crossed the Isara, but the king of the Arverni, Bituitus, recalled them in haste by throwing upon their rear 200,000 Gauls who had crossed the Rhone on two bridges of boats and rafts. When the barbaric king, seated in his silver chariot and surrounded by his pack of war-dogs, saw how small was the Roman force, he exclaimed: "There are not enough of them for a meal for my dogs!" Discipline and military skill, and especially the use of elephants, overcame this



Coin of the Arverni.[1]



Coin of the Tectosagi.[2]

[1] Laurelled head. On the reverse, a coachman driving a chariot with two horses. Gold stater of the Arverni.

[2] Male head; the reverse, an open flower, copied from the Rhoda rose. Silver coin, ascribed to the Tectosagi. M. de Saulcy regards this piece as a drachme of a people in central Gaul, but does not venture to give it a more definite location.

multitude, of whom 120,000, it is said, perished on the battlefield or were drowned by the destruction of the bridges.[1] Bituitus, allured by Fabius to a conference some time later, was seized and carried in chains to Rome. They were unwilling to let the legions advance into the mountains of Auvergne, but Fabius received orders to unite to the Roman province all the country bounded by the Rhone from Lake Leman to the sea. The Allobroges were treated with severity; the Cavari, on the contrary, obtained great privileges, and the Vocontii, the title of *Civitas fœderata*. In Gaul, as in Italy, Rome distributed her favours and her wrath unequally, that

Inscription of Domitius (p. 489).[2]

a common oppression might not unite the vanquished in a common hatred.

The consuls of the following years crossed the Rhone, and gave the new province as a western frontier the chains of the Cevennes and of the Corbières; the Tectosagi, who were masters

[1] [Of course all these numbers are given purely at random by the ancient historians.—*Ed.*]

[2] HERCULI SACRUM, CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS. PROCOS. DEVICTIS ET. SUPERATIS BELLO ICONIIS TRICORIIS. Strabo (iv. p. 185 and 203) places between the Rhone and the Alps, the *Vocontii*, then the *Tricorii*, *Iconii*, and, on the top of the mountains, the *Medulli*. Our inscription is not complete. A fragment of it had long been known, whose authenticity, however, Mommsen disputed; the second fragment was discovered by M. Edmond Blanc, in the department of the Alps-Maritimes, upon a highway probably the *via Domitia*.

of Tolosa, even accepted the title of allies of Rome. The colony of Narbo Martius (*Narbonne*), placed as its name indicates, and as its remote situation required, under the special protection of the god of war, was to watch over the new subjects (118). Situated near the mouth of the Aude, at the extremity of that great depression through which the *Canal du Midi* now passes, it became the rival of Marseilles when the Romans made of Bordeaux the other great commercial centre of this portion of Gaul. A military road, commenced by the conqueror of the Allobroges, *via Domitia*, and leading from the Alps to the Pyrenees secured Rome's communication with her Spanish provinces.[1]

Since the battle of Zama, we have seen victorious consuls taking for themselves proud surnames, and Fabius now took that of *Allobrogicus*. In Greece, international law did not permit animosities to be perpetuated by rearing upon the territory of the vanquished a durable monument of their defeat, and this custom had passed into Roman usage. But barbarians were not thought to merit so generous treatment; upon the battlefield of *Vindalium*, Fabius built one temple to Mars and a second to Hercules, and between the two, he placed upon a stone tower a trophy of Gallic arms.[2] The temple and the trophy have disappeared, but there exists a less imposing souvenir of Domitius' victory, an inscription, the first that the Romans ever cut in Gaul, which "the iron-faced man," as Lic. Crassus called him, caused to be engraved on the side of one of the high Provençal hills, and which a lucky chance has recently brought to light.

The transalpine province, guarded by its two military positions, Aix and Narbonne,[3] and protected by the Tectosagi and the Edui, recent allies of Rome, was like an outpost whence the senate watched and held in check the Gallic nations, and thither Marius went to save Italy.

[1] These wars are contemporary with the expeditions of the two Metelli against the Dalmatians (117), (Livy, *Epit.* lxii.), and against the Baleares, from which war they received the two surnames they bear in history. Metellus Balearicus destroyed nearly all the male population in Majorca and re-peopled the island with a colony.

[2] Strabo, iv. p. 185; Flor., iii. 2.

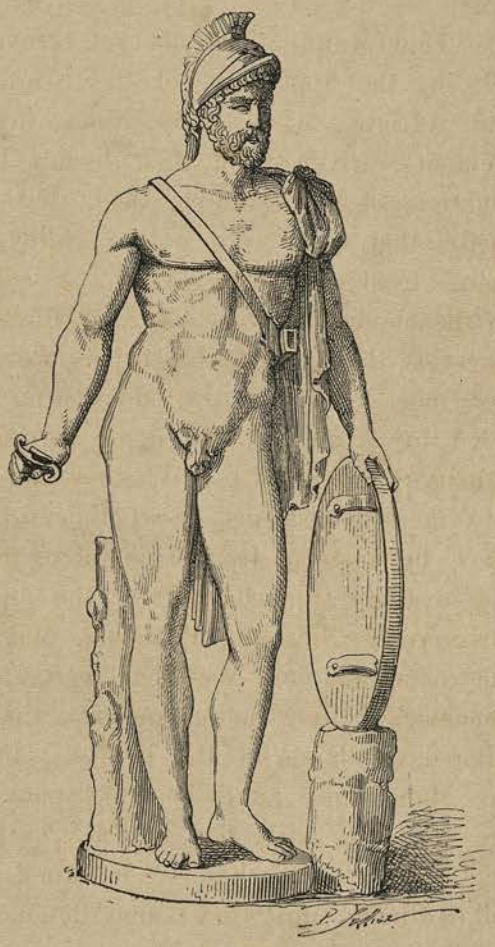
[3] Aix, however, did not become a colony until the time of Augustus.

II.—The Cimbri in Gaul; Battle of Aix (102).

The Cisalpine had not yet recovered from the alarm caused in 118 by the appearance of the Scordisci on the opposite coast of the Adriatic, when news came, first, that 300,000 Cimbri and Teutones, driven from their homes by an overflow of the Baltic, had crossed the Danube; then, that they were ravaging Noricum; lastly, that they were in the valley of the Drave, but two days' march from the Carnic Alps. A consul, Papirius Carbo, hastened to the mountains with a strong force to defend the passage which traverses them. The barbarians were at the moment occupied in besieging Noreia, a town flourishing by its iron mines. Papirius, aided by treachery, hoped to surprise them, but suffered a sanguinary defeat (113). Whether the name of Rome struck terror into these barbarians, or whether the *débris* of the consular army, saved by a storm from a complete destruction, guarded the defiles, the invaders stopped short at the foot of the Carnic Alps, and for three years Noricum, Pannonia, and Illyria, from the Danube to the mountains of Macedon, were horribly ravaged; when there remained nothing more to seize, the horde traversed Rhætia and entered the lands of the Helvetii, at this time established between the Maine and Lake Leman (Switzerland and Suabia). Some of the Helvetii, with the Tugeni, Tigurini, and Ambrones, German or Celtic tribes, whose exact abode is not known, consented to follow them, and they came down the Rhine valley together to make their way into Gaul.

Up to this time the Celts had been supreme on the north of the Italic and Illyrian Alps, while another branch of the great Aryan family, the Germans, had accumulated in innumerable tribes behind them in the regions further to the north. These in turn poured into the valley of the Danube their overflow of population. This was not a warlike band in quest of adventure, but a whole people, with its women and children and flocks, and leather-covered wains, containing all their possessions, who came southward seeking a less inclement sky, the plunder of rich nations, and the fertile lands whose conquered inhabitants should henceforth sow and reap

for them. At sight of these tall, fair-haired men, whose blue eyes so readily flashed with anger, the slender, dark-hued race of the Italian provinces soon understood that they were encountering a race for ever hostile. The word *Cimber* means robber, and for five centuries the Germans gave Rome a right to call them so.



Mars.[2]

The manners and customs of the Cimbri placed them low in the social scale; they ate raw flesh; they were wont, like the American Indians, to insult their adversaries before the conflict with coarse gestures of contempt, and advanced to battle with war cries. When the enemy was formidable they advanced in a close phalanx, the men in the foremost ranks being bound together by ropes passed through their belts. They fought bravely, and to fall in battle seemed to them the most honourable form of death. After victory followed endless orgies and brutal excesses, and if they had vowed the spoils to their gods everything was destroyed, men and booty alike. Thus wherever their caprice had led them it was as if a whirlwind had swept over the land.[3]

Such was the first appearance of the Germanic race on the edges of the civilized world; but the Gauls had been no less

[1] Plut., *Mar.*, 11; the same in Festus and Suidas.

[2] Mars of the old Crawfurd collection. (Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 634 A, No. 1436 B.) This naked warrior, with the chlamys on the left shoulder may represent a military hero as well as the god of war.

[3] Mommsen, *History of Rome*,

terrible in Greece; the barbaric condition is the same everywhere; it is well for those who have no trace of it left!

In the Belgæ of Gaul the Cimbri imagined a kindred race; they formed an alliance with them and left under their care, with a guard of 6,000 men, all the booty which would have embarrassed their march; then they proceeded southward, and for over a year Gaul suffered all the evils of the most terrible invasion (110). Upon the banks of the Rhone the Cimbri again found themselves confronted by those Romans whom they had already met in their expeditions eastward, in Illyria, in Macedon, and in Thrace. The immensity of this empire, whose frontiers they found everywhere, struck them with astonishment, and for the first time shrinking from a battle, they asked the consul Silanus to give them lands, offering in return to fight for Rome whenever she desired it. "Rome," rejoined Silanus, "has no lands to give, and desires no services." Thereupon he crossed the Rhone and was defeated (109); the confederated barbarians were not, however, able to force the passage of the river.

In the spring of the year 107 they divided; the Tigurini made their way towards the fords of the Rhone, near Geneva; the Cimbri and Teutones were to attack lower down. The Romans also divided their forces, Cassius Longinus, the consul, engaging the Tigurini, while Aurelius Scaurus marched against the Cimbri. Both armies were defeated; the former passed under the yoke after having seen their consul slain; the latter made their way back into the province in disorder, leaving their general a prisoner in the enemy's hands.

The province was left defenceless, the Alps were no longer guarded, and the prestige of the Roman name began to wane in the minds of these barbarians who had now so often defeated the legions. A council was held by them to determine what route to follow, Scaurus being present, loaded with chains. Being questioned, he intimidated his captors by his bold replies: "I recommend you," he said, "to cross the Alps, set foot in Italy, and you will learn what the Roman power is!" These brave words exasperated a young chief, as the American Indian is said to be irritated by the sarcasms of his prisoner at the stake; he fell upon Scaurus and ran him through the body.

The Cimbri, however, hesitated. In their carelessness they lingered a whole year enjoying their victories. Why should they hasten, indeed, even had they determined upon their next step? The earth was fruitful, the sky mild, their booty immense; were they not in possession of all that they had come to seek? They even suffered the consul Cæpio to sack the capital of the Volcæ Tectosagi, with whom they were in alliance. These Volcæ had, it was said, brought back from their predatory expeditions into Greece an enormons amount of treasure, which they had consecrated to their god Belis by throwing the melted gold and silver into the lake adjacent to his temple. The god could not defend them, however, from the avidity of the legionaries and their chief when divers sought beneath the water for these consecrated treasures. Cæpio obtained 110,000 pounds weight of gold and a million and a half pounds of silver from the sack of Tolosa; this treasure he sent forward to Marseilles, posting accomplices upon the road, however, who killed the guard and carried off the precious booty (106).

The following year the senate sent out another army and a newly-appointed consul, Mallius, to divide the command with Cæpio. This ill-judged measure, the misunderstandings which arose between the two generals, and finally the separation of their forces into two camps, resting upon the Rhone, opposite Orange, brought on a frightful disaster; the two camps, attacked successively, were carried by the enemy; 80,000 Roman soldiers, with 40,000 camp followers or slaves fell under the sword, and the rest were made prisoners. It is said that but ten men escaped; of this number were Cæpio and a young Roman knight, Q. Sertorius, of whom we shall hear later; the latter, though wounded, swam the Rhone without laying off his cuirass or buckler. This was the sixth Roman army which the barbarians had destroyed (Oct. 6, 105).

Before the battle, the Cimbri, to avenge an outrage upon their deputies, had vowed to sacrifice to their gods all that should fall into their hands, and they fulfilled the oath religiously. The men were slain, the horses thrown into the river, cuirasses, arms, and chariots were broken and burned, even the gold and silver was thrown into the Rhone, and from the Alps to the Pyrenees there was one vast scene of devastation.

The defeat at Orange surpassed that of Cannæ, but there was no Hannibal at the head of the Cimbri. Arriving at the gates of Spain, and finding the way open, these barbarians forgot Italy. They were curious to see this new country, and crossing the Pyrenees they proceeded to try their swords upon that race of Celtiberians so tough and obstinate in their mountains. This delay was Rome's salvation. It gave her time to call home Marius from Africa, and send him to guard the Alps, giving him, in spite of the law, a second consulship within three years. The alarm, however, was extreme, but Rome had still in reserve the energy needful against danger. As had been done after the battle of Cannæ, a decree of the senate abridged the time of mourning for the slain, and gave orders that no Italian of military age should leave Italy, forbidding captains of vessels to receive any such on board; satisfaction was also offered to public indignation. A hundred years earlier the senate and the people had gone out to meet the fugitive general from Cannæ, so much respect did the consular authority command even in hands considered incapable; but now law no longer had this supremacy, and a popular vote deprived the defeated general of his *imperium*.[1]

Wounded Combatant (from the Louvre).

Marius proceeded to take up a position behind the Rhone to the north of Arles, upon the western slope of the mountains (104);

[1] See the following chapter.

he entrenched himself securely, and to be certain of his supplies arriving at all times he employed his soldiers in digging a canal by which vessels from Marseilles and from Italy might avoid the shallows at the mouth of the Rhone. This canal came out upon the shore at a point where the village of Foz now recalls the name of the *Fossæ Marianæ*.[1] The legionaries who were employed in this work were called in derision Marius' *mules*; but by these severe labours he broke up those habits of indolence and luxury which had prevailed for half a century in the Roman camps, and had cost the State six armies. A young soldier, insulted by a nephew of the consul, had slain the offender; instead of punishing the soldier, Marius rewarded him for the act. He also introduced modifications in the soldiers' armour, giving them a light round shield and a javelin which, once thrown, could not be used a second time, for he caused the head of the weapon to be attached to the shaft by a wooden and an iron pin, the former of which breaking spoilt the weapon for use, while the iron pin held the shaft, thus embarrassing the movements of the soldier in whose shield it had fixed. Marius also directed the soldiers to learn the art of fencing, an exercise of great importance in a time when battles were decided in a series of hand-to-hand contests. Before his time the Roman army was arranged in order of battle in three ranks; for this he substituted two, but in the ten cohorts, which had taken the place of the thirty *manipuli*, he combined the different arms, light and heavy infantry, so that each cohort of 600 men was, like our battalions, a copy of the entire legion, whose unity he marked by giving to each its standard, a silver eagle.[2]

Scipio Æmilianus had, some time earlier, during the siege of Numantia, created the general's bodyguard, the soldiers of the *prætorium*, the *prætoriani*, selected from the bravest in the army, excused from all duties but guarding the general's person, and receiving higher pay than the other soldiers. The new Roman army, therefore, was quite different from that of the earlier time.

[1] Upon this subject see the *Géographie de la Gaule romaine* of M. E. Desjardins (vol. ii. p. 199). Marius gave this canal to the Massiliotes, and it became a source of wealth to them from the tolls they levied on vessels going up or down. (Strabo, iv. 183.)

[2] See in vol. i. p. 419, the early military organization.

Rank and position were no longer based on property, but on years of service, and the army was open to those who were on the lists of the census only as *capite censi* (persons without property) and also to foreign contingents, Numidian or Thracian cavalry, Balearic slingers, light troops from all countries. For the war against the Cimbri, even such remote contingents as those of Bithynia and Phrygia were called in. Thus the nobles disdaining military service, and the class of petty proprietors no longer existing to furnish recruits, the government became more aristocratic as the army became less so. The two great social institutions of Rome, the senate and the army, which once formed a harmonious whole, gradually diverged, and thus the way was prepared for the advent of an *imperator*.

Roman Eagle.[1]

It cannot be said that Marius was the author of all these changes, but he contributed largely by opening the military career to the proletariat and to the provincials.

Meantime the Cimbri still delayed their coming, and Marius, to familiarize his soldiers with the reforms in their ornament and in the order of battle, employed them in short military expeditions, which presented no serious dangers. In this way Sylla, who had formerly been quæstor with Marius, and now held the position of his lieutenant, defeated in many skirmishes the great tribe of the Volcæ Tectosagi, and took their king, Copill, prisoner.

The respite the barbarians allowed Marius had then been well employed, since in restoring discipline he had restored to his legions the certainty of success. A Greek writer goes so far as to say that he made a sanguinary offering to their superstitious temper. Warned by a dream, it is said that he sacrificed his daughter Calpurnia for the purpose of securing the favour of the gods.[2] Plutarch also mentions a prophetess, Martha, who followed him clad in a purple garment, and carrying in her hand a javelin adorned with fillets and garlands.

For three years affrighted Rome forgot her laws, continuing

[1] La Chausse, *Récueil d'antiquités romaines*, v. 5.

[2] Dorotheos, *ap. Script. Alex. M.*, p. 156, ed. Didot.

in the consulship and in the military command the man who promised to save her. At the end of this time the barbarians returned from Spain with the intention of now entering Italy. The Cimbri went to the left, turning the Alps in order to come down through the Tyrol into the valley of the Adige, while the Teutones advanced to meet Marius. The Roman general allowed them the passage of the Rhone. Relying upon his troops and upon the strong position which he held near the sea, the city of Massilia, and the Roman fleets, he hoped to entrap the barbarians in the mountainous region through which they were about to march, to come upon them in some moment of carelessness and destroy them with a single blow. Moreover, he wished to give his soldiers time to become familiar with the fierce aspect of these disorderly bands. Vainly the Teutones multiplied insults to draw him out of his lines. One of their chiefs came even to the gates of the Roman camp and challenged Marius to single combat, but the general sent word that if the Teuton were weary of life he might hang himself, and on the barbarian's insisting further he sent out a gladiator to him.[2] The Roman army were frenzied with impatience. "The important matter is," he said, "not to gain a victory, but to keep this thick cloud from bursting upon Italy." The general kept himself carefully informed of the enemy's designs, and Sertorius, who understood the Gallic language, penetrated their camp every day in disguise, in the quarter of the Ambrones. The Teutones strove to force the Roman camp, but after three ineffectual attempts decided to go elsewhere. Later the story was told that for six whole days they defiled past the Roman camp in full sight of the soldiers, and were heard to taunt them, crying out, "We are

Phrygian Archer.[1]

[1] From a Greek marble.

[2] Frontin., *Strateg.*, iv. 7.

going to see your wives; have you any message to send them?" Marius followed them by short marches, waiting for the favourable moment.[1]

Near Aquæ Sextiæ the barbarians stopped, and Marius regarding the place as suitable for a battle, came up and took a position opposite upon a hill overlooking the valley of the Arc. There was no supply of water on the high ground, and when his soldiers complained the Roman general pointed out to them the river on whose banks the Teutones were encamped. "We shall go in search of water there," he said, "but we must pay for it with our blood; we will begin with fortifying our camp." From their position the Romans could see the Ambrones dispersed over the plain, some seated and eating, others bathing in the Arc or in the warm springs; here a man combing his long hair, there one polishing his weapons, and further back, behind the shelter of the waggons, priestesses in white garments with an iron belt around the waist, who perhaps at the moment were occupied with their gloomy rites, cutting a captive's throat over the edge of a brass cauldron, that they might read in the victim's blood the fate of the approaching battle.

The so-called Dresden Gladiator.[2]

Meantime the servants of the Roman army having no water for themselves and their animals, were emboldened at the sight

[1] It is not easy to see why he did not, however, by some sudden attack, seek to cut in two this immense and necessarily disordered line. Marius evidently had not the highest military talent any more than he had the highest qualities of the statesman.

[2] Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 865, No. 2206.

of the disorder of the Ambrones, and came down in a crowd towards the river. The barbarians believing themselves attacked seized their arms and advanced, striking their bucklers with a rythmic cadence, and keeping time to this fierce music as they marched. But in crossing the river they broke ranks, and had not time to form again, when the Romans fell upon them from the heights above with such fury, that they were compelled, after severe loss to seek shelter behind the circle of waggons. There,

From Ordnance Map

Scale = 1:320 000
Roman Miles

Battlefield of Aquæ Sextiæ.[1]

however, they encountered a new enemy, their women, who, frenzied with rage and grief, rushed out upon them, smiting alike fugitives and pursuers, or rushing in among the combatants, and, unarmed as they were, seeking to snatch from the legionaries their swords and shields. Day began to wane; the Teutones, who had not fought, were approaching, and the Romans did not pursue their success further.

During the engagement the same battle cry, *Ambra! Ambra!*

[1] M. Ernest Desjardins is of opinion that the great massacre took place in the valley below the hills of Pourrières, and near the valley of that name, *Campi putridi;* that Marius encamped upon the hills on the north of the city; that the ambush of Marcellus was in the forest of Pourcieux, near Mount Olympus or Regaignas. (*Géog. de la Gaule rom.*, vol. ii. p. 327.)

was heard on both sides; it was the Ambrones shouting their own name, and the Italian Ligurians, auxiliaries of Rome, who replied with their ancient war-cry. The two tribes, probably of kindred origin, met after a separation of a thousand years.[1]

At the close of the day the Romans returned to their position, but no songs of triumph resounded through the night in the camp, for the ramparts and the trenches were not yet completed, and a great host of barbarians, who had not taken part in the day's action, were in the immediate vicinity. All night long their threats and lamentations, like the howling of wild beasts, filled the air, and these sounds echoing among the hills filled the Romans with terror. Marius dreaded a night attack from the infuriated horde, but happily they remained within their camp through that night and the following day, being occupied in making ready for the combat.

In the second battle, two days later, the barbarians repeated their imprudent attack upon the hill where Marius was posted, and to which he allured them by a pretence of flight on the part of the cavalry. Repulsed in this attempt, and followed in their retreat by the legions, then attacked from the rear by 3,000 picked men whom Marius had placed in ambush in the woods above their camp, they were unable to resist. The massacre was terrible, as in all these ancient battles, where men fought hand to hand, and where the defeated army might be completely destroyed by the victorious one. Plutarch relates that the fields were so enriched by the bodies of the slain that they became marvellously fruitful, and that the bones of the dead were in such abundance that the Massiliots employed them to wall-in their vineyards. The village of Pourrières, between Aix and Saint Maximin, recalls yet in its name, the *Campus putridus*, the Putrid Field, where this vast massacre took place.

Three thousand men were all who escaped, among them King Teutobokh and some other chiefs, who endeavoured to make their way back to Germany. The Gauls, however, had suffered too much from this invasion not to revenge it, and they pursued the fugitives.

[1] According to Plutarch the Ligurians called themselves Ambrones, which perhaps indicates kinship with the Umbrians. In vol. i. we have already referred to the uncertainty which exists in respect to the origin of the latter people.

Teutobokh was taken by the Sequani and delivered over to Marius; he was a warrior of colossal height, of whom it was said that he could leap across six horses placed abreast. Marius reserved him for his triumph, together with the best arms and

So-called Trophies of Marius.[1]

richest spoils, and made a heap of the rest of the booty to burn it in honour of the gods. The army were assembled around the pile; Marius, clad in purple, his toga girt about him as for a

[1] See in the *Revue de numismatique* the paper by C. Lenormant, *Les Trophées de Marius*, 1842. The author regards them as having made part of the Nymphæum of Alexander Severus. It is evident, in any case, that, notwithstanding their name, they have nothing to do with Marius.

30878

solemn sacrifice, was in the act of raising a lighted torch, with both hands towards heaven, when some of his friends were seen riding up at full speed; they brought him news that he had been elected consul for the fifth time. The army testified their joy by shouts and the clashing of their weapons, and the officers placed a laurel wreath on the head of Marius. After this brief delay he set fire to the pile, and amid the rejoicings of the soldiers the flames shot up towards the sky (102).

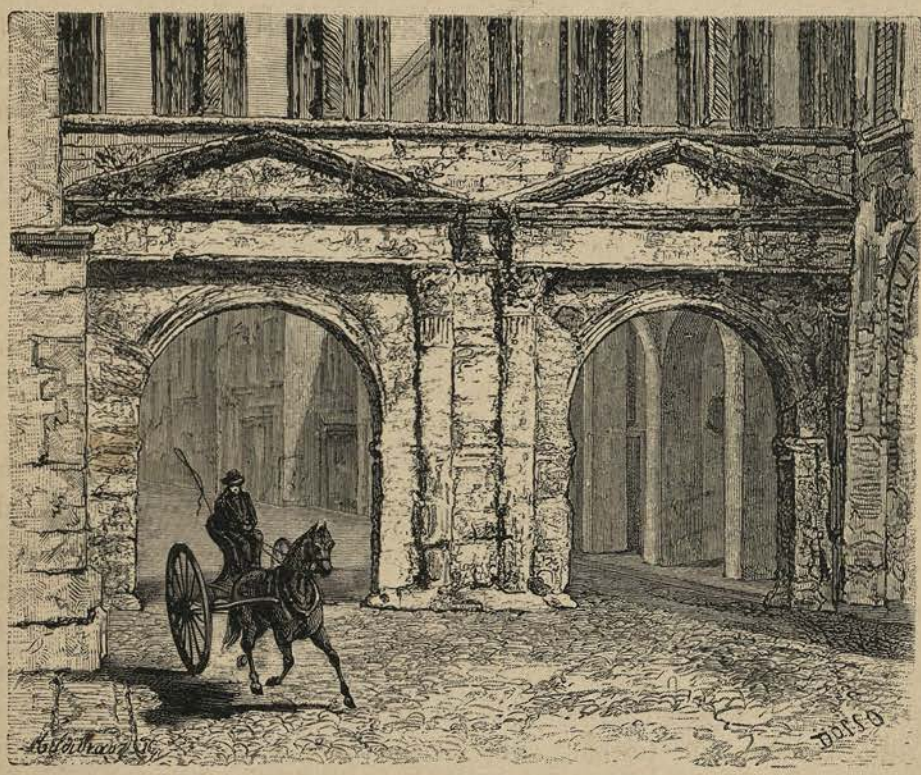
A pyramid was erected at one end of the battlefield in memory of this victory, which was in existence until the fifteenth century. One of its bas-reliefs represented Marius raised upon a shield at the moment after the soldiers had proclaimed him *imperator*.[1]

III.—The Cimbri in Italy; Battle of Vercellæ (101).

The war was not yet ended, for only the Teutones and Ambrones had been destroyed, while the Cimbri yet remained. Catulus, who had been despatched to guard the road leading over the eastern Alps, had no need to go so far. News from the mountains announced that the enemy were on their way towards the Brenner pass, whence the valleys of the Eisack and the Adige lead down into Italy, and Catulus established himself upon the latter river, in the old Etruscan city of *Tridentium* (Trent), and to bar the road covered himself on both banks of the stream by strong entrenchments united by a bridge. At Trent, the Adige is still a mountain torrent, and is not a serious obstacle to the passage of an army. The true point of defence is lower down, at Verona, but this was not known at that time. When the Cimbri arrived they found the Romans indisposed to issue from their camp, and to insult this cowardice and parade their own strength, they delighted to expose themselves naked to the winter's cold, and scaling the steep cliffs opposite the city, to slide down seated on their bucklers. They did not undertake to force the

[1] Up to the time of the Revolution the village of Pourrières preserved a representation of this monument in its armorial bearings. (Fauris de Saint-Vincent, in the *Magasin encyclopédique* of Millin, vol. iv. p. 314.)

entrenchments of Catulus, but sought to destroy the bridge by casting whole trees into the river, whose shock might destroy the piles, or else they threw in masses of rock as if to fill up the stream. After a few days the terrified legions compelled their general to quit the position. He abandoned in a little fort on the left bank of the Adige a few soldiers, who defended themselves with such courage that the Cimbri, after having compelled their surrender, permitted them to go out on honourable conditions, the

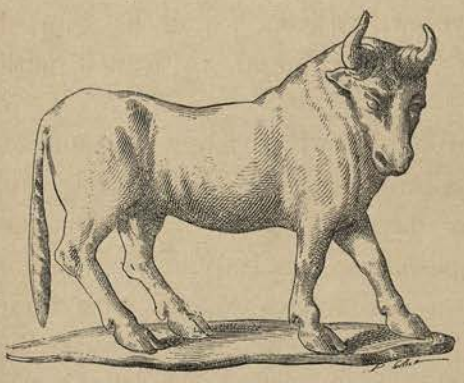


Porta de' Borsari at Verona. (Maffei, *Verona Illustrata.*)

barbarians swearing to the terms upon their brazen bull. This bull, taken after the battle, was carried to the house of Catulus as the first fruits of his victory.

The legions did not make a stand on the plateau of Rivoli, whence they might have held the outlet of the mountains, nor yet at Verona, where they would have commanded the passage of the Adige, now become an important river, but they kept on retreating until they had placed the river Po as a barrier between

themselves and the enemy. The country to the north of this river remained defenceless, and was horribly ravaged by the barbarians, but finding in these fertile lands provisions in abundance, they remained there awaiting the arrival of the Teutones, and giving themselves up to the enjoyment of their easy victory. And why should they hasten? Up to this moment they had been everywhere successful, and they had confidence that the sword would open to them the road to Rome as it had opened the road to so many other countries. Instead of pursuing Catulus, they passed the winter and the summer of the year 102 in the Transpadane.



Brazen Bull.[1]

These events had caused the recall of Marius from Gaul. He came to Rome, refused the triumph offered him by the senate, "to re-assure the multitude by seeming to leave his fame as a deposit in the hands of the Fortune of Rome," and by a haughty address raised the courage of all. He then went north again to rejoin his army, which had now crossed the Alps, and to arrange with his colleague the plan of the approaching campaign. It was at this moment that Sylla, wounded by his arrogance, left him and accepted service with Catulus, by whom he was cordially welcomed. With the force of cavalry placed under his command Sylla was able to collect provisions and keep the camp of Catulus well supplied until the end of the war, while that of Marius frequently suffered from want.

The Cimbri were still waiting for the Teutones to arrive, and would not believe the rumours that reached them of their defeat. They even sent deputies to Marius to ask for themselves and their brethren lands and houses in which they might establish themselves. "Do not be anxious about your brethren," the consul rejoined, "they have the land that we have given them, and will keep it for ever." At these words the barbarians broke out in

[1] Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. vi., 1st Series, pl. 93.

threats and abusive language; the consul should be punished, they said, for his jesting language, first by the Cimbri, and later by the Teutones when they should arrive. "The Teutones have arrived," Marius said, "and it is not fitting that you should go away until you have saluted your brethren," and he caused Teutobokh and the other captives to be brought in loaded with chains.

Upon report of this the Cimbri hesitated no longer. Boïorix, their king, approached the Roman camp accompanied by a few horsemen, and asked to have the day and hour fixed for the combat which should decide the possession of Italy. The consul replied that the Romans were not accustomed to consult with their enemies on these matters, but that he would deign to gratify the Cimbri on this point, and it was thereupon agreed that the battle should take place three days later in the plain of Vercellæ. On the appointed day the Cimbri took up a position in the plain, forming a square whose sides measured 6,000 yards. Their cavalry, 15,000 in number, were splendidly adorned, their helmets surmounted by heads of wild beasts with gaping mouths, and above them great crests like wings, adding to the height of the horseman. They were protected by iron cuirasses and white shields, and had each two javelins to throw from a distance, while for the thick of the fight they had long, heavy swords.

When this great army of barbarians set itself in motion, it seemed, says Plutarch, like a furious ocean in high tide. But Marius, like Hannibal at Cannæ, took advantage of the sun and of the wind. Such a cloud of dust arose that presently the Cimbri could not see before them, and whilst the wind blew it in their faces the sun blazed full in their eyes; they were obliged to shade their faces with their bucklers, thus leaving their bodies exposed.

The bravest among the Cimbri, to make sure that their first ranks should not be broken, had bound themselves together by long iron chains attached to their belts. This device caused their destruction, the dead hampering the living. The Romans, attacking from a distance with the formidable *pilum*, made breaches in this line, which they entered and then slew at will. The first ranks being exterminated, the others gave way, and the conquerors pursued the fugitives into their entrenchments. There horrible

scenes took place, of which the Romans were mere spectators. The women, clad in black, and standing upon the waggons, themselves slew the fugitives; they slaughtered their children, throwing them under the wheels or under the horses' feet, and finally killed themselves. One of them having attached her two children, one to each foot, hung herself from the pole of a waggon tilted on end.[1] The men, for lack of trees to hang themselves, put slip-nooses around their necks, fastening the rope to the horns of oxen and pricking the animals to make them run, perished, either being strangled or trodden under foot. Notwithstanding the great number of those who thus perished by their own hand, more than 60,000

Bacchus in India.[2] (See next page.)

were (it is said) made prisoners, twice that number being set down as slain (101). They were perhaps a million of human beings when, thirteen years before, they had left the Baltic shores; of this multitude there now were left but a few thousand captives, destined for the slave markets of Italy.

The honours paid to Marius after this victory testified to the anxiety and alarm which had been felt at Rome. He was called the third Romulus, the new founder of Rome, Camillus having

[1] Florus (iii. 3) and Orosius (v. 16) assert that these women sent to beg the consuls that they should be received among the vestals, and on their refusal, *cum non impetrassent*, took their own lives. It is needless to say that this is simply legendary.

[2] Bas-relief of a sarcophagus from Zoega. (*Bassiril. ant.*) The expedition of Bacchus into India is famous among the ancients. He was there three years according to some accounts, and fifty-two according to others (Diod., iii. 63, vi. 3), and had to fight against mighty chiefs. But the Pans, Satyrs, and Bacchantes who accompanied him, and his own divine power, made him triumph over all adversaries. He civilized the country he had conquered, introduced into it the culture of the vine, founded cities, and gave laws to them. (Strab., xi. 505; Arrian, *Indica*, 5; Philostr., *Vita Apoll.*, ii. 9.) These legends explain our bas-relief and the presence of the unwarlike troop that follows the god.

already received that appellation after his victory over the Gauls. Every citizen, on news of the triumph, poured libations in the conqueror's name. He himself fancied he had equalled the exploits of Bacchus in India, and would henceforward drink only from a cup similar to that given to Dionysos; he also caused to be carved on his shield the grimacing head of a barbarian; and Rome believed that she had stifled barbarism in his mighty arms.

[1] Bust engraved on vitreous paste, found at Palestrina, bearing the legend, C. MARIVS VII. COS. (Visconti, *Icon. rom.*, vol. ii.)

Marius.[1]

CHAPTER XLI.

SECOND REVOLT OF THE SLAVES AND NEW DISTURBANCES IN ROME (103-91).

I.—Insurrection of the Slaves in Italy and Sicily (103—99).

THE two wars against the Numidians and the Cimbri had made a bloody interlude to the internal troubles of the State. Their results were momentous; Roman rule was consolidated in Africa, and Italy closed for three centuries against the barbarians. But there was much disgrace mingled with a little glory, and that glory belonged almost entirely to one man: the love of the soldiers and the people, the enforced respect of the nobles, a great reputation, divine honours, these are what Marius, five times consul, brought back to Rome. The Eternal City was saved from the Cimbri and Teutones, who would save the Republic from the reviving factions? Did the great soldier possess, like his master, Scipio Æmilianus, the ideas and sentiments of a great citizen, or only the paltry ambition and envious hate of the upstart? Ere long we shall be able to judge.

Venus found at Nuceria (Nocera de' Pagani).[1]

What Rome had been before the time of the Gracchi that she was twenty years afterwards: only there was more misery with less hope. The corruption which pervaded Roman society extended even to the political parties themselves; instead of the orderly and useful struggle between

[1] This charming statue is in the Museum at Naples. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 632 G, No. 1323 A.)

two great factions of the Roman people, we shall see only the bloody quarrels of some powerful men who, like the Gallic Brenn, mete out justice at the point of the sword. What party—that is to say, what requirements, what views—will Marius represent until his death, or Sylla, until his consulship? The history of the man who at this epoch endeavoured to re-awaken the memory of the sons of Cornelia of Saturninus the tribune, for a moment a king in Rome, will serve to show this decadence in the internal life of the city. The grand scenes of the double tragedy of the Gracchi will be replaced by the outrages of a low party leader.

Like the tribuneship of Tiberius, that of Saturninus, was preceded by a revolt of the slaves. This time the signal went up from Central Italy; it was a foretaste of Spartacus. Conspiracies discovered at Nuceria and at Capua were baffled. A more dangerous insurrection was aroused by Vettius, a Roman knight, who, crushed by debts, armed his slaves and murdered his creditors. He took the diadem and the purple, surrounded himself with lictors and called to him all all the slaves of Campania. The prætor Lucullus set out with all haste with 10,000 men. The rebel had already collected 3,500; betrayed by one of his own men he killed himself, so as not to fall alive into the hands of the enemy (103).

"The fettered Race." [1]

The rising was quelled in Campania, but it had already reached Sicily. The masters had quickly forgotten the enactments of Rupilius. Recently, upon the claims of some Asiatic princes, whose subjects had been kidnapped, the senate had ordered the prætor of Sicily to set at liberty all the free men who had been reduced to slavery by violence. A few days later, 800 were freed; but the representations, or perhaps the bribes,

[1] Slave working in chains, from a gem. The galley-slaves of modern Italy still wear chains as represented here. The cut is believed to represent the enchained Saturn after he is dispossessed of his kingdom by his brother Titan. Slaves, on obtaining their liberty consecrated to him their chains.

of the masters, put an end to the enquiry; the *tribunal of liberty* opened at Syracuse, was closed, and "the fettered race," not expecting further justice, revolted. A fortunate surprise, which delivered over to the slaves the arms of a part of the garrison of Enna, enabled them to organize in a soldierly manner. The most numerous band took as chief one Salvius, who had mustered 20,000 foot-soldiers and 2,000 horsemen, and very nearly took the fortress of Morgantia. The slaves from the neighbourhood of Segesta and Lilybæum ranged themselves under the command of the Cilician Athenio, who gave out that he was an astrologer, as Salvius had claimed to be an aruspex. Athenio was a former chief of brigands whom the Romans had

Slave taking refuge upon an Altar.[1] (Stage scene.)

captured and sold. He was himself bold and skilful, and accepted only those men who were strong and trained, obliging the others to work for him, and forbidding them to pillage; Messina, the most important city in the island to the Romans, was very near falling into his hands. It was expected that misunderstandings would arise between the two commanders, but Athenio recognized the authority of Salvius, "King Tryphon," who built himself a palace in the city of Triocala. The suspicions and ill-treatment of the new king did not shake the fidelity of his lieutenant; and when Lucullus arrived from Italy with an army which, in spite of the Cimbrian war, the senate had been able to collect, Athenio advised awaiting him in the plain and risking a battle. Sustained

[1] Bas-relief in terra-cotta from the Campana collection. The slave seems anxious to escape the pursuit of a man armed with a stick. Cf. Saglio, *Dict. des antiq. grecq. et rom.*, fig. 589.

Temple of Segesta. (From a photograph.)

by his courage, the slaves held firm, but on seeing him fall, they fled and took shelter at Triocala (102). After a few days' siege Lucullus retired, and upon hearing that they had named Servilius as his successor, he freely granted to the soldiers discharges and burned his stores; accused at Rome of having sold himself to the slaves, he was punished by a fine, and went into exile.[1]

Servilius was still less fortunate; Athenio, who had only been wounded, took the place of Salvius who died some time after the battle, and displayed an energy which checkmated his adversary. Rome avenged herself by condemning Servilius to exile, and resigned herself to the disgrace of sending the consular forces against these rebels. Manius Aquillius, worthy colleague of Marius, slew Athenio in single combat, dispersed his troops, and had those whom they could catch carried to Rome, to be delivered up to the wild beasts. They cheated the people of their gratification by killing each other; their chief slew the last survivor and then destroyed himself. An enormous number of slaves had perished in these two wars.[3] The most cruel regulations repressed them for the future, the possession of arms was forbidden under pain of death, even the spear with which the herdsmen were wont to defend themselves against wild beasts (102—99).

Coin of Manius Aquillius.[2]

[1] Εἴτε διὰ ῥᾳστώνην, εἴτε διὰ δωροδοκίαν. (Diod., xxxvi. 8; Plut., *Lucull.*, 1.)

[2] MAN. AQVIL. MAN. F. MAN. N. SICIL. (*Manius Aquillius, Manii filius, Manii nepos, Sicilia*). Soldier raising a kneeling woman. Reverse of a silver coin of the Aquillian family.

[3] Athenæus says 1,000,000 in one war only—the first; but Diodorus estimates the number of slaves engaged in it at 200,000 only. [Both no doubt at random. *Ed.*]

II.—The Triumvirate of Marius Glaucia and Saturninus (100).

The Servile war had, like the Cimbric and Numidian, fully exposed the incapacity and venality of the nobles. The disgrace of the nobility had given both voice and courage to the tribunes. Memmius and Mamilius had openly accused the guilty, and sought to re-organize the popular party, who, believing they had found a leader in Marius, raised him to the consulship. His successes, and the confidence reposed in him by the soldiers, who would have no other general, enabled him to retain this office for four years, in defiance of all law. In the interest of public safety the nobles accepted the situation; now, however, under cover of his reputation and his services, the tribunes commenced anew the struggle against the senate, supported by the knights, who were incensed at the loss of half of the *judicia*.

The defeat of Orange and the extortions of Cæpio served as a pretext. Scarcely had the news of his defeat reached Rome than the people wished to deprive him of the *imperium*, to declare him incapable of holding any office, and to confiscate his property. The senate defended the proconsul who had restored to it a share of the judicial authority, but the tribune Norbanus had driven from the *Comitium* the nobles, and two tribunes who had opposed the measure. This tumult became so great that the prince of the senate, Æmilius Scaurus, was wounded in the head by a stone. Cæpio, was deposed, thrown into prison, and a friendly tribune who had liberated him was forced to share his exile. According to other accounts, he was strangled in his cell, and his body dragged to the Gemonian steps. He left two daughters who disgraced themselves by their conduct. This ruin and dishonour of a family once illustrious appeared like a vengeance of the Gallic gods, whose treasures Cæpio had plundered; hence the proverb, "He has Tolosan gold," applied to the man whom a long series of misfortunes seemed to brand with the ban of an adverse fate.[1]

[1] Cic., *de Off.*, ii. 21; Cic., *pro Balbo*, 11; *Brut.*, 44; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, iii. 9; Livy, *Epit.*, lxvii.

This deposition of a magistrate in face of the veto of two tribunes was an open violation of law, but no one noticed it, for the old constitution of Rome was going to pieces.

In the year 104 a measure, brought forward by the tribune Domitius, transferred to the people the election of the pontiffs, a right hitherto exercised by the college itself. Thus, again, a privilege was taken from the aristocracy and conferred upon a venal assembly, venal, as we shall see, when Julius Cæsar, by buying from the comitia the office of pontifex Maximus, opened his way to the higher offices. In 103 Marcius Philippus proposed an agrarian law, and in his speech advocating the measure occur the terrible words we have already quoted: "In the entire Republic there are not 2,000 landowners."[1] The proposal was defeated, but the colleague of Philippus, Servilius Glaucia, to buy the support of the equestrian order, now deprived the senators of the judicature which had been given them by Cæpio. Glaucia, seeking also to gain the allies, made two concessions to them, the first giving citizenship to any Italian who should succeed in convicting a magistrate of extortion, the second increasing the severity of the Calpurnian law *de pecuniis repetundis*, by making the restitution twofold. Thus the tribuneship once more became aggressive, the blood of the Gracchi having restored to it, as it were, its early democratic energy.

Such was the situation in Rome when Marius returned from the Cisalpine. Until now he had been consul in camps only, and he aspired to fill that office in Rome for another year under the eyes of the aristocratic party who had so long scorned him.

[1] Cic., *pro Balbo*, 24. The date of this Servilian law is uncertain, but must fall between 106 and 101. Walter (*Gesch. des röm. Rechts*, ii. 439) says: "About the year 650," that is, 104 B.C., Cicero speaks of the Latins only and of the free cities, "*Latinis, id est, fœderatis.*" Klenze, the able editor of the Servilian law, thinks that its privileges were granted to all the provincials: "It was at the same time a splendid indemnity for the perils and fatigues of making an accusation, and a sure protection against the vengeance of the next appointed incumbent of the same office, who would doubtless wish to avenge the harm done to his predecessor, and prevent by terror even the most legitimate complaints in the future." (Laboulaye, *Essai sur les lois criminelles des Romains*, p. 241.) Madvig and Huschke do not admit the provincials to the benefits of the *Servilian law*, and I should be of their opinion were it not, in Section xxiv., the text speaks in general terms of those who *cives Romani non erunt*. It was the provincials and not the Latins who suffered most from extortion; they it was who had most motives for bringing accusations, and most means for proving their charges.

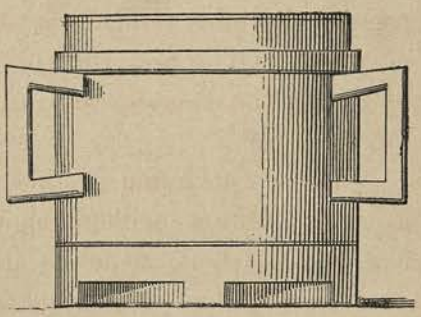
But the nobles were of opinion that this peasant of Arpinum had had honours enough, and when he sought for a sixth consulate they opposed to him his personal enemy Metellus, so that Marius was forced to resort in his canvass to the use of gold.[1] This he never forgave, and from this time forward plunged into a career of base and tortuous intrigue. Calm in battle and in presence of death, Marius lost confidence in the presence of the popular assembly; there the meanest demagogue had more presence of mind. Of course, in the city a political leader was required to control the masses; Marius, therefore, sought out a man to speak for him.

There was living at this time in Rome L. Apuleius Saturninus, a clever orator, without moral weight, but with much ambition and spite, whom a public disgrace had thrown into the popular party. He had been quæstor over the department of Ostia, that is to say, entrusted with the duty of providing for the prompt transit of corn to Rome; during a famine he had been so negligent that the senate felt compelled to replace him by M. Scaurus (104). In the year 102 his tirades against the nobles had given him the tribuneship. At that time Metellus Numidicus held the office of censor, and, for the purpose of avenging the aristocratic party, he made an attempt to expel from the senate Saturninus, and with him Glaucia, that tribune who, when Marius was filling his legions with Italians, had proposed to bestow upon them the right of citizenship. The two, however, stirred up the populace, and pursued the censor as far as the Capitol, where they would have murdered him had not some of the knights interposed and rescued him from their hands. Again blood had been shed in Rome, now unhappily no novelty.

A common enmity towards Metellus had naturally brought Glaucia and his accomplice into relations with Marius, to whom Saturninus had already been useful in the year 102, when Marius was a candidate for his fourth consulship. Saturninus, therefore, was the person whom Marius fixed upon, and he began by inciting the former to ask for a second tribuneship, promising him the votes

[1] Plut., *Mar.*, 28, and Livy, *Epit.*, lxix.: *per tribus sparsa pecunia.*

of his veterans. The scheme was unsuccessful. At the election, Nonius, a partisan of the nobles, was about to obtain the office when Saturninus, aided by Glaucia with a band of determined men, fell upon Nonius and assassinated him. On the following day, early in the morning, the murderers collected and proclaimed Saturninus.[1] Marius also obtained his sixth consulship, and Glaucia was made prætor; the three accomplices thus placed themselves at the head of the government, and their administration may be called the first of the Roman triumvirates.



Modius.[2]

Saturninus immediately began hostilities, availing himself of that official power which lent itself so readily to abuse. He revived again the law of Caius Gracchus for distributions of corn to the people, still further reducing its price, which he fixed at $\frac{5}{6}$ of an *as* per modium. The senate opposed, as one man, this dangerous measure, as its direct result would be to increase the proletariat, that scourge of Rome. But the tribune, instead of yielding, was only the more aggressive. He proposed, first, a distribution among the poor citizens belonging to the rustic tribes of all the lands in the Transpadane formerly occupied by the Cimbri, an unjust measure, which would have involved the dispossession of the original holders; secondly, the gift of 100 acres apiece in Africa to the veterans of Marius; thirdly, the purchase of lands in Sicily, Achæa, and Macedon for the founding of Roman colonies; and, lastly, to authorize Marius to confer citizenship on three individuals in each colony.[3] It may have been at this time that Glaucia obtained the passage of the law which we have just mentioned in favour of allies or subjects who might have procured the conviction of a magistrate guilty of extortion. Whether this

[1] Diod., xxxvi. 12; Cic., *pro Sext.*, 17; Livy, *Epit.*, lxix.; App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 28; Plut., *Mar.*, 29.

[2] From a terra-cotta lamp. The modius, the largest dry measure of the Romans, was a third of an *amphora* and a sixth of the Greek medimnus; it held nearly two gallons.

[3] Cic., *pro Balbo*, 21. In this passage the word *ternos* seems to be an error in the MS. The right of conferring citizenship on three persons in each colony would have been alike valueless to Marius and to the allies.

be its date or not, it is clear that the idea of making reparation to those who were not protected by the title of Roman citizen constantly recurs—a certain proof of the necessity for justice in the matter of these well-founded complaints.

An additional clause was added by Saturninus, making it incumbent on the senators, if the law should pass, to swear within five days that they would maintain it, under a fine of twenty talents for refusal. This unusual provision, afterwards employed by Julius Cæsar, was specially aimed against Metellus. On the day of voting a serious riot broke out in the Forum. As in the time of Tiberius Gracchus, many among the populace were not desirous of a law solely for the benefit of the rustic tribes and those of the allies who had been enrolled by Marius. A tribune was prevailed upon to oppose the measure, but Saturninus disregarded the opposition. Heaven was called in. "It has thundered," the senators sent word. "Let them beware!" rejoined Saturninus, "after the thunder there may be hail!" The quæstor Cæpio, who may have been the son of the proconsul recently disgraced, finally had recourse to the method now become habitual; with the aid of an armed band he broke the urns and scattered the votes. Upon this the veterans of Marius gathered, drove the nobles out of the Forum, and the law was passed. Upon this Marius immediately assembled the senate, sharply censured the law, and pledged himself to refuse the oath. When, however, five days later, the senators were called upon to present themselves in the temple of Saturn and have their oaths registered by the quæstor, the consul was the first to obey, under the pretext of preventing an outbreak among the rustic tribes, and asserting that the concession obtained by violence and impiety might at any time be declared invalid. The other senators followed his example, Metellus alone remaining faithful to the previous agreement, that the oath should be refused. This conduct of Metellus had been anticipated, and Saturninus immediately demanded the fine. Metellus either could not, or would not, pay it, and when a crowd of his friends prepared to take arms in his defence, he objected to one drop of blood being shed on his account, and withdrew from the city. Whereupon a decree of the people condemned him to exile.

Marius had obtained the gratification of his ambition and of his hate; his enemy, Numidicus, fled before him; the populace still applauded him; his veterans gave him a blind devotion; the inefficiency of his colleague gave him the entire consular authority; Saturninus gave him that of the tribuneship, and Glaucia of the prætorship. His power, therefore, was absolute, and what did he do with it? Here his political incapacity was revealed.[1]

Temple of Saturn (See last page).[2]

He had no projects; he set on foot no reforms; he took no initiative; but he left Saturninus and Glaucia so free to act that they soon took the lead, and he remained himself in doubt whether he was for the senate and the nobles, whom he did not love, or for the people, whom he despised. In character an aristocrat, he was by habit and position a democrat, and he remained inactive

[1] *C. Marius homo varii et mutabilis ingenii consiliique semper secundum fortunam.* (Livy, *Epit.*, lxii.)

[2] Restoration by M. Dutert of the *École des Beaux-Arts.*

between the two factions, seeking to deceive both, and in this double game losing his own honour and the respect of his fellow-citizens. This selfish policy bore its fruits; the day came when the conqueror of Jugurtha and of the Cimbri found himself alone, abandoned by all, in the same city which had once resounded with the noise of his triumphs.

Saturninus had been at first only an instrument; the weakness of Marius soon emboldened him to work for his own interests. His designs have never been clearly understood; perhaps he had none. His policy, it is certain, was shaped from day to day, like that of his former patron. He was constantly surrounded by foreigners and Italians, and on one occasion they were heard to salute him by the title of king.[1] In his public harangues he constantly inveighed against the venality of the nobles, and to accredit his denunciations he publicly insulted the envoys of Mithridates, at the risk of bringing on a formidable war, by accusing them of buying the senators with gifts of money. He also refreshed the recollection of the Gracchi, by presenting to the people a pretended son of Tiberius, who had been, he said, brought up in concealment since his father's murder. The widow of Scipio Æmilianus appeared publicly in the Forum, and denied the claims of this stranger, who was asserted to be her nephew. The populace, however, refused to accept this decisive testimony, and the adventurer, who was, in truth, a runaway slave, was elected tribune.[2]

Coin of Lucius Apuleius Saturninus.[4]

Saturninus desired to obtain a re-election himself, and to have Glaucia, who was always involved in his plans, raised to the consular office. He succeeded for himself, but the great orator, Marcus Antonius, obtained one consulship, and Memmius, also a distinguished man, the tribune of the year 111,[3] would have been also elected, had not the band of Saturninus rushed upon him in the Forum and beaten him to death.

This outrage roused the whole city, and the wealthy class,

[1] Flor., iii. 16.

[2] *Ille ex compedibus atque ergastulo Gracchus.* (Cic., *pro Rabirio*, 7.)

[3] See p. 463.

[4] L. SATVRN. (Lucius Saturninus), an M, a monetary symbol, and Saturn in a quadriga, holding a sickle. Reverse of a denarius of the Apuleian family, attributed to Lucius Apuleius Saturninus.

terrified at the acts of violence which the demagogue had incited, gathered around the senate, urging Marius to act with severity against the guilty persons. It is said that while the senatorial chiefs were assembled at his house, Saturninus came thither also, and that the consul, going from one room to the other under divers pretexts, entertained the complaints of both parties at once, temporising with both.[1] This story is very probably fictitious, but the consul's double-dealing cannot be denied.

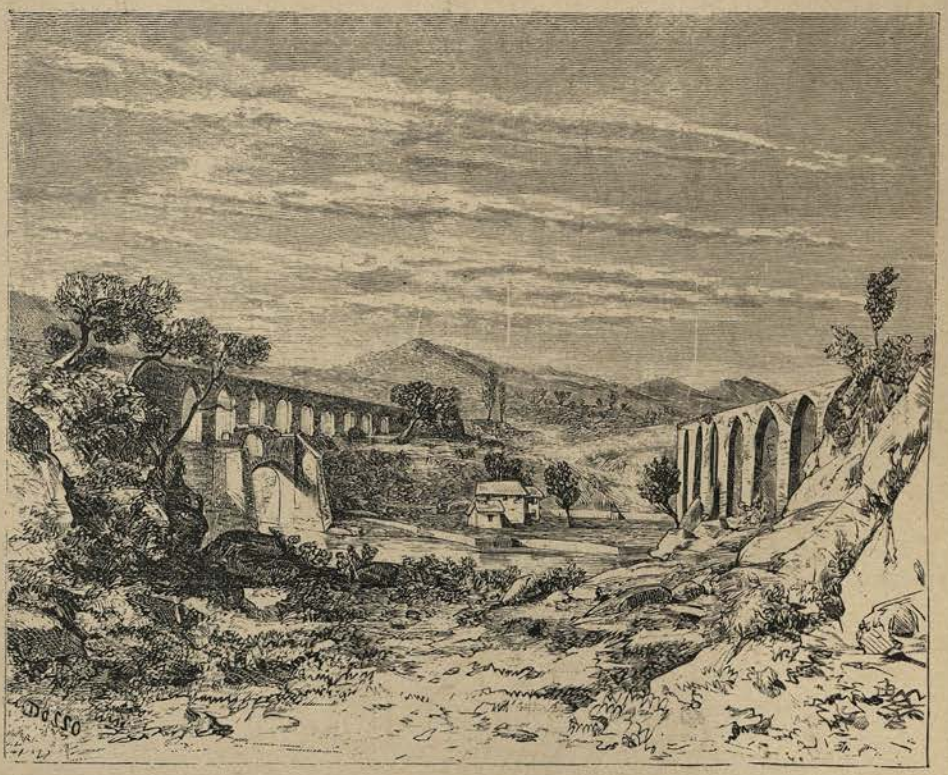
An act of baseness on his part soon after may be regarded as an attempt to regain public confidence. During the night of the 10th of December, the day on which the tribunes entered upon the duties of their office, Glaucia, Saturninus, the false Gracchus, and Saufeius the quæstor, seized the Capitol. Upon this the senate uttered its formula, *Caveant consules;* the nobles armed themselves, and even the aged ex-consul Scævola was seen, "a virile soul in a decayed body," supporting his feeble steps with a javelin, and marching to defend the laws. Marius, borne along by the general excitement, joined in besieging his late accomplices, and to get the better of them without fighting he cut off the water supply of the Capitol. The conspirators, relying upon his protection, surrendered, and were by his orders confined in the senate-house. It is possible he may have hoped to save their lives, but if it were so his intention was defeated; some of the crowd climbed upon the roof of the building, and tearing off the tiles, pelted to death the two tribunes, the quæstor, and Glaucia, all still wearing their insignia of office. As usual, this first shedding of blood was quickly followed by more, and many persons were slain. Whether aristocratic or popular, a party that has once tasted blood craves for it. A Roman senator, Rabirius (100), took the place of public executioner, cutting off the head of Saturninus, and bearing it through the city upon the point of a pike. The exploit brought him much honour at the time, but, thirty-seven years later, it caused him to be summoned before a tribunal by a partisan of Julius Cæsar, Labienus, whose uncle had perished on this day.

A party consisting only of the ignorant and miserable

[1] Plut., *Mar.*, 32.

proletariat can destroy, but never build up. Saturninus had experienced this, finding the same end as Sulpicius, Cinna, Clodius, and so many other demagogues in all ages and all lands. By this catastrophe Marius himself lost, and justly, whatever popularity remained to him.

He strove in vain to arrest the reactionary movement. Instigated by him, Furius, the son of a freedman, who had, not-



Aqueduct near Smyrna.[1]

withstanding his ignoble birth, attained the tribuneship, opposed his veto to the return of Metellus, which had been proposed. Upon the expiration of his office he was arraigned and torn in pieces by a hired mob, who would not even allow him to make his defence. "Thus," says Appian, "each time the comitia met, the assembly was stained with blood." A man who talked of an agrarian law, and who kept in his house a portrait of Saturninus, was banished; the same penalty was decreed in the case of

[1] De Laborde, *Voyage en Asie mineure*, pl. 66A.

Pediment of the Capitol.[1]

[1] A bas-relief from the Palace of the Conservators (at Rome), representing a sacrifice offered by Marcus Aurelius, shows on its background a pediment, which, according to Brunn, is that of the fourth temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. (*Annales de l'Institut archéologique*, 1851, p. 289.) [We give the design of the pediment.]

Decianus, who had deplored the murder of the accomplice of Marius.[1] The knights, in the exercise of their judicial functions, avenged themselves for the terror which the poorer class had caused, not merely to the senate, but all men of property. At last, conquered by the tears and prayers of the younger Metellus, who that day gained the surname of *Pius*, the people pronounced sentence of recall in the case of Numidicus. He was at Smyrna, and in the theatre when the messengers arrived, and he waited calmly till the performance was over before he opened the letters which had been brought him. An immense crowd welcomed his return to Rome, giving him almost a triumphal entry into the city (99). Marius was unwilling to witness the return of his rival, and making pretext of sacrifices vowed to Cybele, set off for Asia; he also cherished the hope of bringing about the rupture between Mithridates and the Republic, which Saturninus had provoked by his insults to the envoys. Marius must have a war to recover

Mars and Venus.[2]

[1] Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 33; Cic., *de Orat.*, ii. 11, *de Leg.*, ii. 12, *pro Rabirio*, 9.

[2] Museum of the Capitol. (Clarac, *Mus.*, pl. 634, No. 1428.) This group, in Pentelic marble, was found in 1750 near Ostia, in the *Isola sacra*. Venus wears the Latin diadem, the tunic, and the pallium.

his importance (98). He said of himself, "They regard me as a sword, which rusts in time of peace." [1]

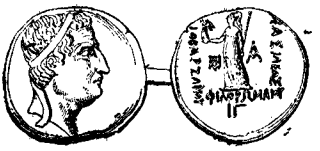
There was now for some time a semblance of repose. The death of Saturninus, and Marius' voluntary exile, served as a warning to demagogues. For six years the tribunes had been supreme; never had so many popular laws been passed in so short a time, and still the people did not awake from their apathetic indifference. It was plain that the popular party had ceased to exist, and that the tribunate of Saturninus was the last serious attempt that would ever be made to reconstruct it. His laws were now repealed, his colonies reduced to one feeble settlement in Corsica, and of these famous tribuneships there was left only a stain of blood on the floor of the Curia Hostilia, the ruin of a great reputation, and the well-established certainty that nothing could be done with the Roman rabble. From this time forward, instead of plebeians, there were soldiers, instead of tribunes, there were generals, and civil wars instead of riots in the Forum. Mars, in the depths of his sanctuary, might well shake his spear.[2]

For the moment the aristocratic party seemed again victorious. At home, all the efforts of the popular faction had failed. In order to prevent the tribunes from obtaining advantages from enactments whose import was not thoroughly understood, a consular law in 98, the *Cæcilia-Didia*, revived the provision that laws must be announced three *nundinæ* before they were voted upon; at the same time it was forbidden that any irrelevant law or amendment should then be proposed, as had been done by Saturninus, and earlier by Licinius Stolo in 367. It is probable that the reaction went even further than existing documents prove. The closing of the schools by the censor Crassus, a great orator, who made it his boast that he was in no way indebted to Greek influence, indicates that the old Roman party was more resolute

[1] Plut., *Mar.*, 33.

[2] Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.*, iv. 6) has preserved the following senatus-consultum of the year 99: "Julius, son of Lucius, the pontifex Maximus having made known that the spears of Mars in the sanctuary of the *regia* had been shaken without human agency, it was decreed by the senate: that the consul M. Antonius should appease Jupiter and Mars by the offering of great sacrifices; that he should also sacrifice to whatever other divinities he might deem it needful to conciliate; that whatever he should do should be approved; and that if it should be deemed indispensable to multiply the number of victims, offerings should be made to the god Robigus." This divinity was the protector of harvests.

than ever in opposing all innovations. Men were beginning to understand that those who have charge of education hold the future in their hands, and Crassus refused to allow the future to be entrusted to those Greek rhetoricians who had destroyed the Latin schools, and were giving to the Roman youth ideas that their fathers had not known.[1]



Ariobarzanes.[2]

In foreign affairs the haughty and efficient policy of the senate inspired respect and compelled general obedience. In the year 92 Sylla re-established Ariobarzanes on the throne of Cappadocia, and received an embassy from the king of the Parthians with the same haughtiness that Marius had shown at the court of Mithridates. "Prince," he said, "either endeavour to become more powerful than the Romans, or else do without murmuring that which they ask."

III.—Tribuneship of Livius Drusus (91).

Thus at home and abroad the horizon seemed clearer. Livius Drusus, a man of noble rank, judged it a favourable time to bring forward again, with new ideas, the project of the Gracchi to reform the constitution. He was a son of that Drusus whose efforts against Caius Gracchus had been rewarded by the title of *princeps senatus*, while his popular laws had given him the name of the people's friend. By birth and position Livius Drusus was a conservative, but one of those conservatives who believe that the best

[1] Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.*, xv. 11): "It has been reported to us that certain men are establishing a new kind of instruction, and that our youth frequent their schools. We are informed that these men assume the title of Latin rhetoricians, and that the youth, going daily to their houses, remain there in idleness the entire day. Our ancestors decided in respect to the schools their sons should attend and the lessons they should learn. These innovations, contrary to the customs and usages of our ancestors, displease us, and seem to us not good. We have therefore felt it our duty to make known our opinion on this matter to teachers and pupils. We object to it." The censors, not having the imperium, uttered no commands, but the words *nobis non placere* had the weight of an authoritative censure and a condemnation to which the prætor or the ædiles would give effect.

[2] Diademed head of Ariobarzanes. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΡΩΜΑΙΟΥ ΙΓ (13), and two monograms. Pallas standing, holding a Victory. Silver coin of Ariobarzanes, struck in the thirteenth year of his reign.

way to protect established institutions is to lower the barriers and avoid violent catastrophes. It was, therefore, by no means from hatred to the aristocratic party that he proposed his reforms; his enlightened mind looked beyond the interests of any class. He endeavoured to solve the twofold problem which had for forty years agitated the contending parties in Rome, namely, to reconcile the senate and the people, and to transform the municipal institutions of the city into the constitution of an empire, now that the masters of a city and its suburbs had become masters of the world. Anyone who endeavoured to bring this about must be regarded as a clear-sighted patriot.

Terra-Cotta Figurine from the Cyrenaica.[1]

The Gracchi had been reproached with giving two heads to the State by conferring upon the equestrian order the entire judicial authority, an authority which they had lately disgraced by their condemnation of the upright Rutilius. Drusus, being elected tribune in 91, abandoned this arrangement.[2] For the purpose of strengthening the aristocracy—the conservative element, that is to

[1] Aphrodite and Eros. (Heuzey, *Les Figurines de terre cuite du musée du Louvre*, pl. xli. fig. 1.)

[2] These incessant changes in the Roman judiciary prove that justice had become a sovereign injustice in the Republic, since it was only necessary for a class to gain possession of the judicial functions in order to become supreme in the State.

say—Drusus proposed to restore the judicial authority to the senators, and he set on foot an investigation in respect to venality;[1] at the same time he proposed the admission into the senate of 300 persons of the equestrian order. For the purpose of raising the democracy, the element of strength, and in the hope of relieving the destitution of the lower classes, he proposed distributions of corn, and also promised lands in Italy and Sicily, while to the allies he wished to give citizenship. "Let us bestow everything," he said to his friends among the aristocracy, "that there may be nothing left which can be divided save air and earth, *cœnum et cœlum*."[2] Then there will be no more chance for demagogues to stir up the people with promises." In this, however, Drusus deceived himself, for demagogues are always ready with promises, and the multitude have always faith enough to believe them.

Following the example of Licinius Stolo, the tribune incorporated all these provisions, except the citizenship of the allies, into a single bill. This was contrary to the law passed a few years before, forbidding heterogeneous proposals (*per saturam*); it was, however, a secure method to obtain the success of the measure, since it caught the majority of voters, who cared nothing for politics, and were only eager to secure the increased distribution of corn. Each of his laws, indeed, offended a section of the nation; the senate, who were unwilling to receive the 300 knights into their number; the knights, whom nothing could compensate for the loss of the *judicia;* and the poor, who cared neither for changes in the constitution, nor for the establishment of colonies, which meant the obligation to work for their living. And it was clear to all that Drusus aimed still further at the elevation

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 35. According to Livy (*Epit.*, lxx.), it was his plan to compose the tribunals of both senators and knights in equal numbers, which was fundamentally the same thing.

[2] Flor., iii. 17, and *De Vir. ill.*, 66. But so much extravagance exhausted the treasury, and Drusus was driven to the expedient of debasing the currency. Accepting the common theory of his time, that the State was able to give by its stamp what value it pleased, Drusus established the rule of coinage that out of every eight denarii minted, one should be of silvered bronze. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 18.) Nor should we blame him too severely for this; the theory that money need not have a real value corresponding to that which is given it as a circulating medium lasted long in Europe, and as late as the fourteenth century France made bitter experience of its fallacy.

of the subjects to equality with their masters, while among the allies themselves much anxiety was felt about the colonies promised to the Roman poor, which could be founded only at their expense. The great Etruscan and Umbrian landowners, especially,[1] cared far less for the citizenship offered them than for the territory of which they might be deprived. The other Italians, however, attached themselves to Drusus as their last hope, and crowded about him. Secret meetings were held, and a plan of action determined upon; in short, it was really a conspiracy. His care for his own interests appears in the oath which each conspirator was required to take:[3] "By Jupiter Capitolinus, by the Roman penates, by Hercules, by the sun and the earth, . . . by the demi-gods who founded the Roman State, by the heroes who built it up, I swear that I will have the same friends and foes with Drusus, that I will spare neither substance nor parent, nor child, nor life of any so it be not for the good of Drusus and of those who have taken this oath; that if, by the laws of Drusus, I become a citizen, I will hold Rome as my country and Drusus as my greatest benefactor." During an illness of the tribune, the devotion of the allies was unmistakable, all the Italian cities offering solemn prayers for his recovery, as if on him alone depended their welfare.

Jupiter Capitolinus.[2]

We can hardly believe that the formula of the oath given above was a forgery prepared by the adversaries of Drusus to ruin him or dishonour his memory, but, on the other hand, we are not obliged to conclude from it that the tribune was meditating a revolution. He had undertaken a great work, to which the aristocratic and wealthy classes were bitterly opposed; to succeed, he had need of allies, and he naturally sought them among the persons interested, and formed then into an organized force. From their tombs the Gracchi warned him that he must protect himself, and this he did. His method was doubtless a dangerous one, for he incurred the risk of being impelled against his will to desperate

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 36.

[2] CAPITOLINUS. A silver coin of the Petillian family.

[3] Diod., xxxvii. 11. Livy (*Epit.*, lxxi.) speaks also of *coïtus, conjurationesque et orationes in concilio principum.*

extremities. About this time, the Marsian, Pompædius Silo, a friend of Drusus, gathered a band, whose numbers were exaggerated to 10,000; these men, it was said, carried concealed weapons, and, led by Silo, advanced through by-ways upon Rome, with the intention of surrounding the senate-house and compelling the senators to grant citizenship to the allies, or, failing that, of ravaging the city with fire and sword.[1] On the way Silo was met by the consular Domitius, who enquired why this crowd followed him. "I am going to Rome, whither the tribune bids us come," was the answer of Pompædius. Upon the positive assurances of Domitius that the senate were voluntarily about to do justice to the allies, he was persuaded to dismiss his followers. If a word was enough to dispel their anger and break up their design, it is plain that neither was in any respect formidable.

Men's minds, however, were greatly excited at Rome, as is shown by subsequent events, and also by an anecdote related of Cato (of Utica), at that time a child four years old. Brought up in the house of his uncle, Livius Drusus, and accustomed to hear angry discussions about the rights of the allies, the boy had already taken sides with the aristocratic faction. Pompædius Silo, being at his uncle's house one day, said to him, "Will you not beg your uncle to help us in obtaining the citizenship?" and the child refusing, Pompædius seized him and held him out of a window, saying, "Promise me you will, or I shall let you fall." But the boy continued silent, and Pompædius was obliged to release him. It is generally cited to show the resolute character of Cato, but if it were true, the chief point noticeable is the reflection in this fierce young soul of the passions of an oligarchy, who could not brook that Italian nobles should become their rivals for the consulship, or the Italian poor swell the tumults of the Forum.

The city was now divided into two hostile factions of very unequal strength, the partisans of the Italians on the one hand, and on the other a part of the nobles and nearly all the rich citizens of Rome. The equestrian order were the persons most actively opposed to the *Livian* law, for by it they would have lost

[1] Διενοεῖτο δὲ περιστῆσαι τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὰ ὅπλα . . . ἢ μὴ, πυρὶ καὶ σιδηρῷ κ. τ. λ. (Diod. xxxvii. 13.)

the judicial position which rendered them masters of the aristocracy; they would have been deprived also of their monopoly of the world's commerce, since the Italians, on becoming citizens, would have been in a position to dispute this advantage with them; and, finally, the investigations threatened by the tribune were a perpetual danger to the unjust judges so numerous in their ranks, and even a possible peril to every person who had presided over a tribunal. The senate, meanwhile, remained in the background, as it had been wont to do in every crisis since the time of the Gracchi. In general, however, the senators were favourable to Drusus, who would restore to them the *judicia*, and if we may believe a doubtful anecdote, showed him a deference which justified the tribune's inordinate pride. Being on one occasion in the Forum, Drusus received a message from the senate, requesting his attendance at their place of meeting. "They may come to me," he said, "in the Curia Hostilia, near the rostra," and the senate obeyed. He gave them great offence by doubling their number, but it was advisable for them to show good-will towards the man who, in restoring to them the judicial offices, "plucked them from those ferocious beasts who thirsted for their blood." [2]

Philippus.[1]

The equestrian order had summoned to Rome numerous bands of Etruscans and Umbrians, which the landlords willingly furnished, and they could count upon the aid of the consul, Marcius Philippus. This person, "variable and inconsistent," but especially violent, had, in 104, when tribune, proposed an agrarian law, and had uttered those famous words that are the justification of the Gracchi.[3] Later he had shown himself one of the bitterest persecutors of Saturninus, and now, a personal enemy of Drusus, he reproached the senate with their inactivity, declaring that it was impossible to carry on the government with such a body of men, and that there was need of a new senate. This unbecoming outbreak on the part of

[1] L. PHILIPPVS. Equestrian statue; below, the sign of the denarius. Reverse of a coin of the Marcian family.

[2] The words are those of Cassius, in support of the law of Servilius Cæpio, who, in 106, restored the judgeships to the senate. (Cic., *de Orat.*, i. 52; *Brut.*, 43.)

[3] See p. 515.

the first magistrate of a Republic against its chief assembly produced an indignant burst of eloquence from Crassus, and amid the acclamations of the nobles the following declaration was passed as a resolution: "The wisdom of the senate has never been found wanting to the Republic." "It was a swan's song," says Cicero. While speaking, Crassus was attacked with a pain in the side; fever supervened, and a week later he was dead.

Lictor (bas-relief of the Vatican)

This "swan's song" of the dying Roman was a noble but a useless utterance; on both sides violent acts continued. On the day when the *Livian* law was under discussion, Philippus would have put a stop to the voting, but an officer in attendance on Drusus seized him by the throat with such violence that the blood spurted from his mouth and eyes. "It is only the gravy of thrushes," sneered the tribune, making reference to the sumptuous banquets in which Philippus delighted. The law was passed, and now it might have been supposed that the struggle was over; on the contrary, it recommenced with more bitterness than ever. As soon as the senate were established in the judgeships they allowed the other clauses of the bill to be attacked. "I might well oppose your decrees," the tribune said, "but I shall not do so, for I am sure that those who commit wrong will soon be punished for it. Consider, however, that in abolishing my law you abolish also the provision concerning the judiciary, which ensures the safety of honest men and the punishment of the guilty. Be careful, then, lest through hatred of me you disarm yourselves."[1] The senate hesitated, and the knights had recourse to the method usual in revolutions. One evening, when Drusus was on his way home, surrounded by a crowd of his clients, he was suddenly struck

[1] Diodorus (xxxii. 10) cannot fix exactly the date of the tribuneship of Drusus.

down. The assassin made his escape, leaving his dagger in the wound, which proved to be mortal. "O! my friends!" cried the dying tribune, "when will the Republic again find a citizen like myself."[1] Some time before this, at the Latin festival, the Italian conspirators were intending to kill the consul, but in consequence a warning from Drusus, Philippus escaped (91).

Again a reformer had been slain, and this time the financial oligarchy were responsible for the murder. A few months later a tribune of the aristocratic faction extolled this deed of violence. Political morals had indeed fallen very low, when, not content with their victim's life, the conservative party openly justified the assassination. It is needless to say that no search was made for the murderer. The knights [or, rather, the consul Philippus] took advantage of the consternation caused by this event to compel the senate to use that singular privilege which the Conscript Fathers had always claimed, the right of dispensing with the observance of any given law, and the following decree was promulgated: "It seems good to the senate that the people should not be held to obey the laws of Drusus," as being contrary to the provision of the lex *Cœcilia-Didia*. At the same time an agent of the senate, the tribune Varius Hybrida, a native of Sucro, son of a Roman father and Spanish mother, proposed a law making it treason for any citizen to favour the claims of the allies, and for any Italian to attempt to take part in Roman affairs. The tribunes opposed this, employing their veto, but the knights, drawing swords hidden under their mantles, compelled the acceptance of the *Varian* law.[2] The senate may have then remembered the prophetic words of Drusus. The most illustrious of the senators were soon after accused. Bestia, C. Cotta, Mummius, Pompeius Rufus, and Memmius were banished or went voluntarily into exile. Scaurus himself was accused by Varius. His sole reply was as follows: "The Spaniard, Q. Varius, accuses Scaurus, prince of the senate, of having excited the allies to revolt; Æmilius Scaurus,

[1] See p. 526.

[2] The law of *perduellio*, which condemned the traitor to death, had become obsolete. (Cic., *pro Rab.*, 3.) The *lex majestatis* of Varius only imposed the penalty of exile. Cicero (*de Invent.*, ii. 7) thus defines the crime of *majestas: majestatem minuere est, de dignitate aut amplitudine, aut potestate populi, aut eorum quibus potestatem dedit aliquid derogare.* Saturninus had passed a law concerning treason, but we know nothing of it.

prince of the senate, denies the charge. Which of the two will you believe?"

The breaking out of the Social war brought to a close these acts of vengeance on the part of the equestrian order, for it was a tempest that threatened to sweep away everything—people, nobles, and even the State itself.[1]

[1] [The Varian tribunal continued sitting and condemning after all other courts were closed by the war, and it was the panic caused by this great crisis, not any abnormal power or fierceness in the knights, which caused the exile of so many important senators. They were, no doubt, the moderate Liberals, who had, at least for some time, favoured Drusus. (Cf. the clear narrative in Neumann, *Verfall der röm. Republik*, p. 475, *seq.*).—*Ed.*]

[2] Bas-relief in the Museum of the Louvre. (Clarac, *Musée*, p. 194, No. 217.)

Combatants.[2]

CHAPTER XLII.

THE SOCIAL WAR.

I.—Condition of the Italians.

IN the conquest of the Italian States, Rome had profited by those municipal hatreds which always prevent cities from making concerted resistance; to secure their obedience after the conquest, she had still further increased, by the inequality of the conditions imposed upon them, the old jealousies springing from diversities of origin, language, and religion. The plan succeeded, and, as we have seen, the fidelity of the Italians had resisted the severest tests. But the allies shared the fate of the Roman plebeians; so long as they were deemed needful, they were treated with consideration, but as soon as they became useless, they were despised.

The Roman aristocracy who had allied themselves with the noblesse of all the Italian cities, had drawn many of the latter to Rome by the agreement that whoever had held a municipal office at home, or had left behind him a son to take his place in his own city, should acquire the *jus civitatis*, on coming to reside at Rome.[1] When all the nobles of the *municipia* had thus left their native towns, the obscure crowd remaining were of no account. The treaties regulating their privileges and the distinctions established among their cities were forgotten. They who at Rome no longer had any respect for the "sovereign people," could not be expected to respect the rights of the vanquished. All differences among the Italians were practically effaced by one common oppression, and although the words colony, municipium, præfecture,

[1] *Hi qui vel magistratum* (the duumvirate) *vel honorem* (the ædileship or the quæstorship) *gerunt, ad civitatem Romanam perveniunt.* (Gaius, i. 96, and Pliny, *Pan.*, 39.) A third means of obtaining citizenship, accorded later to the Latins, was to convict a Roman magistrate of extortion, but it was not the nobility who had created this privilege.

and the like, continued to exist, and corresponded to what had been real distinctions, the whole Italian world, from a political point of view, was simply divided into two great classes, those who were, and those who were not, Roman citizens.[1]

Within the Roman frontier there was law (*legitima judicia*); outside of it all was arbitrary and despotic (*dominium*). Prænestе was free, and treaties had guaranteed her entire independence. But a private individual, Postumius, who went thither to sacrifice in the temple of Fortune,[2] felt himself aggrieved because he had not been received with public honours, and, becoming consul some time after, avenged himself for the fancied slight by laying upon the citizens an onerous and humiliating tax.[3] Locri was an allied city, and the conduct of Pleminius there was notorious. Cales, Teanum and Ferentinum were early colonies, with the rank of municipia. But listen

The Goddess Fortune.[4]

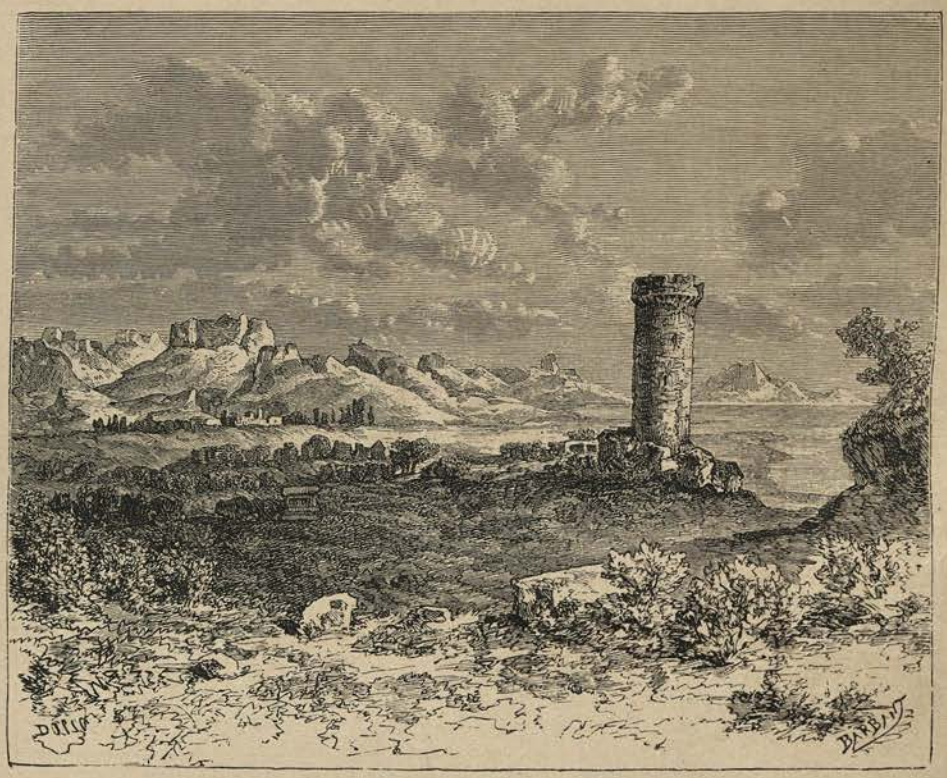
[1] Sallust (*Catil.*, 12) says: *Ignavissumi homines, per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere quæ fortissumi viri victores hostibus reliquerant:* and Cicero (*de Off.*. ii. 21): *Tanta, sublatis legibus et judiciis, expilatio direptioque sociorum, ut imbecillitate aliorum, non nostra virtute valeamus.*

[2] See this temple, vol. i., p. 271.

[3] Livy, xlii. 1; Cf. *ib.*, xlii. 3; Val. Max., I. i. 20. Cicero contended against this abuse (*de Leg.*, iii. 8); Livy, xxxiv. 44.

[4] *Musée Pio Clementino*, ii. pl. 12. Statue of Luna marble, found at Rome near Trajans

to what Caius Gracchus relates from the rostra: "Recently our consul was at Teanum with his wife, and the latter expressed a desire to go to the men's baths in that city. The quæstor ordered M. Marius to have the baths cleared at once for the gratification of her wish. A slight delay however ensued, the matron became angry, and the consul ordered his lictors to seize Marius, to tear off his garments, to bind him to a post in the open market-place and to beat him with rods—



Ruins of Locri (p. 537).[1]

Marius, the first citizen of the town! At the news of this the inhabitants of Cales forbade by edict the use of the public baths, so long as a Roman magistrate should be in the town. At

Forum. The cornucopia carried by this figure, and the rudder resting between a wheel and a ball at her feet, have caused her to be regarded as the goddess Fortune, the divinity who bestows wealth, but who rules capriciously. She wears on her head a Phrygian *pileus* surmounted by a tower, and from this circumstance is thought to represent the Phrygian Fortune.

[1] *Ann. de l'Inst. archéol.*, vol. ii. p. 3–12.

Ferentinum, for a similar cause, our prætor ordered the arrest of the quæstors, one of whom threw himself off the walls of the city, and the other, being taken, was beaten with rods."

The custom of so-called *liberæ legationes* caused the allies great expense. Any senator wishing to travel for his own business or pleasure, might obtain a "mission," that is the right of having all his travelling expenses paid by the allies through whose towns he might pass. And they were esteemed fortunate if they did

Ferentinum.[1]

not suffer in other ways from his caprice or pride. Again we have an incident related by Caius Gracchus: an inhabitant of Venusia meeting a young man borne in a litter, said, laughing to the bearers: "Is that a corpse you are carrying there?" And the jest cost him his life. The words were of evil omen to a Roman ear, and the traveller, to obviate the presage, made

[1] Dodwell, *Pelasgic Remains*, pl. 99. The base of the wall is Pelasgic, and the upper part, with the arch, Roman.

the speaker expiate the offence with his life. In an allied city, which Cato does not specify, a consular, Q. Thermus, on pretext that negligence had been shown in supplying him with provisions, caused all the magistrates, who were men of good family and distinguished merit, to be publicly beaten with rods. "And what," says the wise censor, "do you imagine was the resentment that they felt—they, and their fellow-citizens, witnesses of this outrage?"—"But," says Cicero, "we seek to inspire fear rather than affection." In 183, the inhabitants of Naples disputed with those of Nola, in respect to a certain territory. Q. Fabius Labeo, the consul, being selected as arbiter, assigned the lands in dispute to the Roman people. Legally, this may have been justifiable, but politically, it was the height of injustice.[1]

Acts like these did not occur constantly, or in all places. In many cases, on the contrary, the relations between the citizens and the allies were most friendly, and treaties of an oppressive character were not executed to the letter, first because no authority was expressly charged to see to their execution, and secondly, since the public necessity which originally imposed them seemed no longer to exist, private interests had free scope, and transactions were possible which had been at first prohibited. On one occasion, for instance, the Italian troops and those of Rome fraternized for a moment, like kindred meeting again after long separation.[2] But the few excesses committed here and there were enough to prove that they might be committed everywhere; and the more thoughtful Italians said to themselves that however favourably situated any of them might seem to be, no city had any guarantee against the tyranny of a Roman magistrate or the insolence of a citizen. The Roman government itself showed clearly that it was influenced by no respect for the rights of the allies. The senate's decree concerning the Bacchanalia violated their religious liberty, as the Didian and Sempronian laws reguting the expenses of festivals and, by fixing limits in regard to usury, interfered with the civil rights.[3] It was manifest to all

[1] Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, x. 3; *De Off.* ii. 8; *De Off.*, i. 10; Val. Max., vii. 3, 4.

[2] Οἱ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις στρατιῶται . . . , συχνοὺς οἰκείους καὶ συγγενεῖς κατενόουν, οὓς ὁ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας νόμος ἐπεποιήκει κοινωνῆσαι τῆς τοιαύτης φιλίας. (Diod., xxxviii. 15.) See p. 564.

[3] Didius extended the Sumptuary law of Fannius to all Italy, and Sempronius did the same

ITALY FOR THE SOCIAL WAR AND THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN MARIUS AND SYLLA.

Engraved by W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

that, notwithstanding the diversity in titles, there existed in Italy the two great classes, the sovereign people, and the subject people, and that the former made capital out of the latter.

Moreover, another serious hardship fell upon the Italians. Since the middle-class at Rome had ceased to exist, the burden of all the wars undertaken by the Republic fell upon them, while their soldiers, twice as numerous as the Roman force, were scornfully excluded from the legions, and were sometimes not allowed

Naples—Arcade of the Aqueduct called Ponti Rossi.

to share in the pillage after a victory, or in the distributions that followed a triumph ; [1] and at best they received less than was given to the legionaries. In self-sacrifices, devotion, and death they had equal share, but in honours and rewards they were made to feel

in regulating usury. It often happened that the *socii* accepted the civil laws of Rome. (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 8.)

[1] At the triumph of C. Claudius Pulcher, in 177, the allied soldiers received but half as much as was bestowed upon the legionaries. (Livy, xli. 13.)

their inferiority. Their chiefs were Romans, and yet the greatest generals of the day, Marius and Scipio, preferred them to the legionaries. Their blood paid for the world's conquest, but of the world's plunder they were denied their share.

The legal rights of the allies were also very limited. Most of them were not at liberty to engage in traffic or acquire land outside the little territory belonging to each city. The prætor denied to their property the inalienable character of quiritarian ownership;[1] denied to them, as heads of families, the Roman paternal authority; and to their title of citizen of their own city the rights of appeal and of voluntary exile. He who could say *civis Romanus sum*, saw justice arrested in the province, and the law lose its severity in Rome. Though guilty of the greatest crimes, he was free of penalty by going into voluntary exile beyond the gates of the city.[2] The Italian, condemned for similar offences, perished under the rod.[3] The Roman paid no tax, and lived by the sale of his vote, and his testimony, and by public distributions; the Italian, instead of receiving anything, was obliged to spend for the pay and maintenance of the contingents required from the allies.[4] Even the enjoyment of their natural advantages was denied them. They were forbidden to work the mines[5] which had enriched Etruria, and were required to pay a duty on the stone and marble which they extracted from their quarries. The greed of the publicans weighed most severely upon the provinces, but in Italy there was one tax, the *portorium*, which was farmed out. And, to conclude the list of their grievances, the very agrarian laws designed to alleviate the condition of the Roman proletariat, did so by despoiling the Italians.

Thus we see that the allies, who were [mostly] identical with

[1] The *legitimum dominium* gave the owner right, when he had lost possession of an object, to demand by the *rei vendicatio*, its gratuitous restitution at the hands of any person into whose power it had in any way come, and to take it from him, in case of refusal. The *mancipatio* secured the strongest guarantees to the buyer.

[2] In this case his property would be confiscated, but with a little forethought he was able to protect it by putting it in trust.

[3] Thus Turpilius. . . *verberatus capite pœnas solvit, nam is civis ex Latio erat.* (Sall., Jug., 69.)

[4] Cf. Livy, xxiii. 5; xxvii. 9. *Italia stipendiaria*, says Tacitus. (*Ann.*, xi. 22.)

[5] Pliny, *Hist Nat.*, xxxiii. 4. Near Volaterra there were rich copper-mines, and gold-mines near Vercellæ.

the Romans in language and in manners, received no profits from conquest or honours from their military services, and enjoyed neither the political privileges nor the civil rights of Roman citizens. The son of a freedman in Rome was of more consequence than this or that brave Italian soldier who had assisted a consul in gaining a victory. It was, therefore, natural that the Italians should aspire to this title, which relieved from taxes, opened the career of official rank, and raised them to be among the masters of the world. All the prerogatives of the Roman citizen were not equally objects to be desired; to the poor or even the middle class dweller in Venusia or Ariminum, what mattered the right to vote in the Campus Martius and to help in electing a consul? Could the poor Italians leave their work and make the journey to Rome on all the *nundinæ?* Political rights were of little value to them, but it was not so in respect to the civil rights included in the *jus civitatis.* Among themselves the allies had their own laws, equitably regulating their mutual relations. But Roman citizens now formed a considerable part of the inhabitants of the peninsula. They had business relations constantly with their Italian neighbours, wherein the inferior condition of the Italian was perpetually made apparent, and he was made to suffer, not merely in his pride, but in his interests. The ravages of the second Punic war, the destruction of agriculture, the decrease in the class of petty proprietors had left a great deal uncultivated and unclaimed. Now a man having lawful possession of anything (*civilis possessio*) could, if he were a Roman citizen, convert this

Coin of Venusia.[1]

[1] Wolf's head. Extremely rare coin of Venusia. *Cabinet de France.*

into quiritary ownership by the fulfilment of certain definite conditions, or by an uninterrupted possession, for one year if it were personal property, and for two years if real. But if he were not a citizen this was impossible; his *possessio* could never be changed into *dominium*, and he might at any time be deprived of his property: *adversus hostem* [mark the odious formula] *æterna auctoritas*. By the *rei vindicatio* the quiritary owner could recover his possession; by the *negatoria actio*, he could defend it against any one putting obstacles in the way of his complete ownership under pretext of some right (*servitus*) acquired over it.[2] But only one having the *dominium* was placed under the protection of these legal proceedings, and the *dominium* could belong only to the citizen. In the legal relations of debtor and creditor, the *jus civile* allowed the creditor to bring a suit to obtain payment of the stipulated sum. But, natural obligations founded upon the *jus gentium*, existing, that is to say, outside the protection of the Roman civil law, did not allow an action to be brought against the debtor. Between Romans and Italians marriages were frequent; but no legal consequences resulted from these unions except to such of the allies as held the *jus connubii* and the *jus commercii*; otherwise the Italian could neither buy nor inherit of a citizen or at least these acts were not shielded by the strong protection which the Roman law afforded when they passed between citizens. Lastly, their liberty had not the guarantee of an appeal to the

As of Venusia.[1]

[1] Coin from the *Cabinet de France*.

[2] The formula of this legal proceeding was: *Jus illi non esse ire, agere*, etc.; hence its name, *actio negativa* or *negatoria*. Gaius, *Inst.*, iv. 3; *Dig.*, viii. § 2.)

people, nor had their lives that of the *Porcian* and *Sempronian laws*.[1]

Notwithstanding all the inconveniences of their situation, there were for a long time only individual efforts on the part of the Italians to obtain the right of citizenship. In 187, it was found that 12,000 Latins were living in Rome, and had given their names to the censors; they were at once expelled by order of the senate. Others had recourse to fraud, and under a feigned sale gave up their sons to some citizens who at once enfranchised them. In 177, a new inquiry brought to light a great number of aliens who had thus entered into citizenship by aid of the prætor's wand and the freedman's cap. These persons the senate also expelled, and prohibited, though unsuccessfully, these fictitious sales.

Not infrequently the Latin cities complained of this desertion, as the exodus to Rome left heavier burdens in the matter of taxes and of military service on the rest, and the senate made no allowance for a decrease of population.

This movement of the inhabitants of Latium towards Rome extended itself to the rest of Italy. In 177, the Samnites and the Pelignians made appeal to Rome to send back to them 4,000 of their citizens who had established themselves at Fregellæ, a city of Latium, where they enjoyed the privileges of the Latin name, and whence they might later make their way into Rome.[2]

Thus the allies were gradually coming into the city, when an unexpected event had the effect of making this movement general. As a result of conquest, the greater part of Italy had now become public domain. Hence followed the occupation by noble Romans of an immense amount of very fertile lands without fixed boundaries lying in the neighbourhood of Rome, and of similar occupations by wealthy Italians of territory more remote from the city, or lying at a distance from the high roads. When the agrarian law, brought forward again by the Gracchi, alarmed all persons holding public lands, these Italians found themselves

[1] Cf. Heineccius, *Elém. du droit rom.*; Hugo, *Hist. du droit rom.*; Laboulaye, *Hist. du droit de propriété foncière en Occident*; Marezoli, *Droit privé des Romains*; Rudorff, *Röm. Rechtsg.* Bethmann-Holweg, etc.

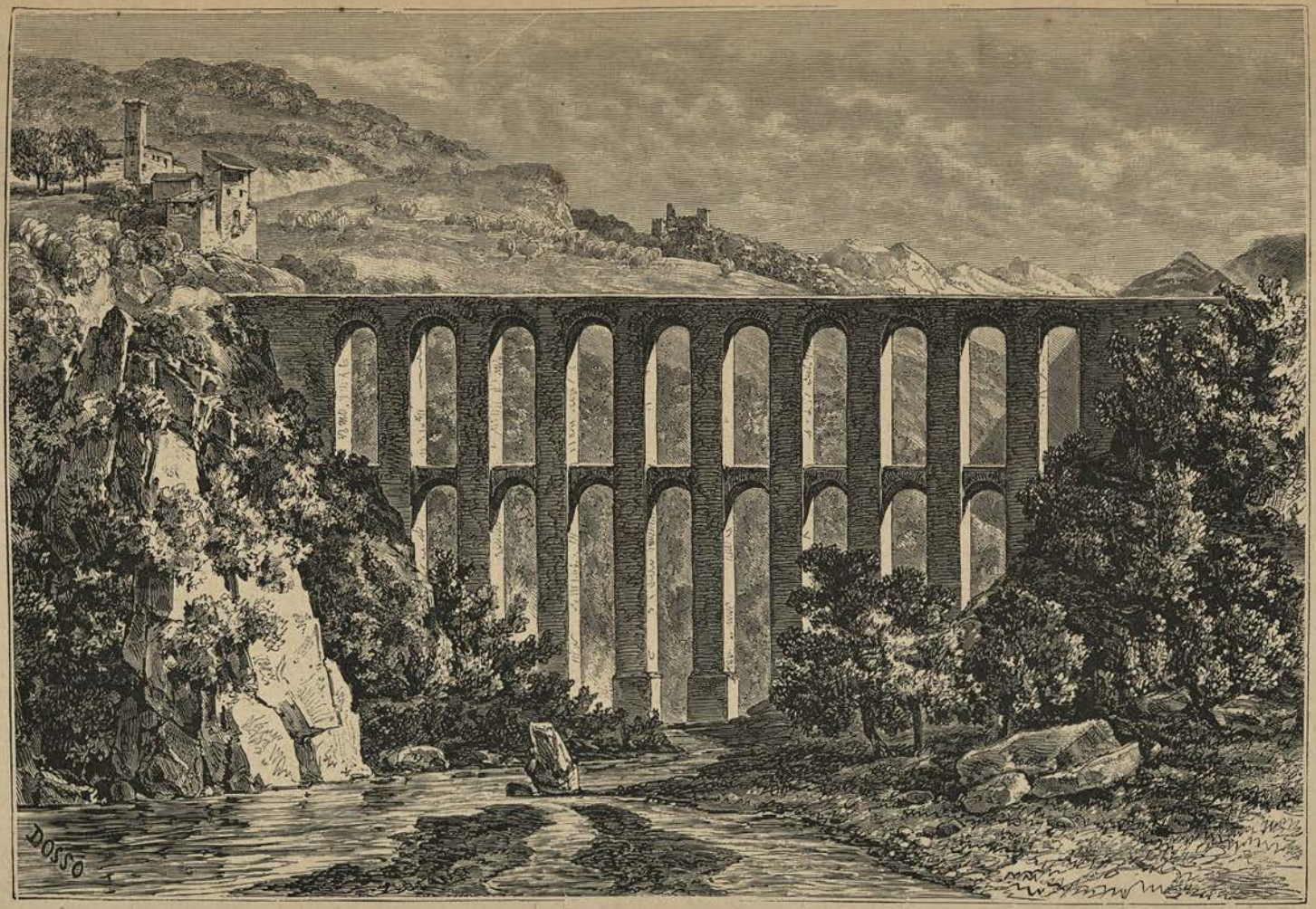
[2] Livy, xxxix. 3, xli. 8, 9.

united by a common and urgent interest, and could not but unite with the Roman holders in an effort to prevent the passing of the law, or failing that, obtain citizenship if possible and compel the people to divide the land with them. This motive, combined with the long-cherished desire to obtain full civil rights, and with the legitimate ambition of men like Papius and Pompædius, conscious of their own ability and chafing at the obscurity of a Marsian or Samnite *municipium*—brought about the explosion so long repressed. The insurrection was formidable, for it was no longer the ill-concerted revolt of a few cities, for a moment enemies, but the waking up of a nation.

In leading her allies to the conquest of the world, in holding united beneath her standards for two centuries men of Etruria, Samnium, Magna Grecia, and Umbria — in giving, in many important respects, the precedence to the Italians over the provincials, Rome had been unconsciously an agent in forming a great nationality. Eighty colonies, founded throughout the peninsula, had carried with them[1] the language and blood of the Latin race, although they had not crushed out the native languages or the local traditions. But native diversities were disappearing according as oppression destroyed the political differences. By their common interests and misfortunes, all the Italians subjected by Rome were united and had come to feel their mutual kinship. By degrees the idea of a common country had sprung up among them, and the word spoken by Scipio Æmilianus had been heard with a thrill of emotion from the Po to the Straits of Messina.

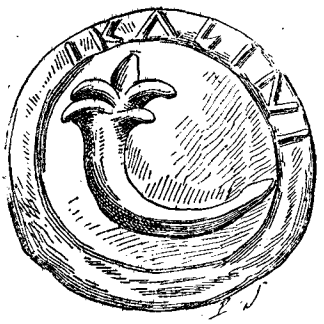
We have already referred to what may have been Scipio's secret intention and the share intended for the Italians in its fulfilment; but his death arrested these designs, and after his time it was the popular leaders who supported the cause of the Italians. The promises of Fulvius brought about the insurrection at Fregellæ, which this consul was constrained to leave to its fate, being sent by the senate to carry on the war in Transalpine Gaul. Caius Gracchus had not time, nor had he the ability, to carry out the

[1] In the Sabellian region the Oscan language still existed, and instead of the word *Italia* of the Marsian medals we find *Viteliu* on those of the Samnites. The Sabellian league of the north (see vol. i. p. CI.) was more Roman than that of the south, and in a large part of Magna Grecia the Greek language was still the speech of the people.



Aqueduct of Spoleto.

vast plan he had conceived. Marius did not propose any political measures, but he enrolled many of the Italians in his legions, and he encouraged the hopes of all of them by giving citizenship upon the field of battle to 1,000 Umbrians and to certain men of Iguvium and Spoleto.[1] Marius was censured for this act as an encroachment upon the sovereignty of the Roman people. "Amid the din of arms," he replied, "I could not hear the voice of the law."[2] The Italians who gathered about Saturninus had used the word "king," but his death and the aristocratic reaction which followed the exile of Marius again brought disappointment to their hopes. Finally, the consuls of the year 95 raised to its height the exasperation of the allies by driving out of Rome all the Italians at that time residing in the city (under the law *Licinia-Mucia*).[3]



As of Iguvium.[4]

This was not the first of the decrees of expulsion; we have already mentioned those of 187 and of 177, and 125. Thus, to interfere with settled habits and established business was to cause the ruin of many and to secure the hatred of all. The Italians left Rome bearing in their hearts the need for vengeance after so many humiliations. Drusus attempted to pacify them, and it was his death which decided them at last to take arms. Two Latin historians recognize the justice of their claims.[5] The Marsians took the lead, and Pompædius Silo, who belonged to this nation, was the soul of the war.

[1] The aqueduct of Spoleto (p. 547), a work worthy of the Romans and often attributed to them, appears to have been constructed in the seventh century by the Lombard dukes.

[2] He seems to have done the same in Africa after the capture of Jugurtha. (Cæs., *Bell. Afr.*, 35.)

[3] Cic., *de Off.*, iii. 11.

[4] IKVPINI (*Iguvini*), and a cornucopia. Ancient coin of Iguvium.

[5] Florus and Paterculus. *Cum jus civitatis*, says the former, *socii justissime postularent Causa fuit justissima*, says the latter.

II.—First Year of the Social War.

The struggle we have now to describe was a war of singular character, unlike any in ancient history. It was formidable, short as it was; it cost more blood than had ever before been shed [except by Hannibal] in Italy, and yet, contrary to all ancient usage, neither of the two adversaries desired to destroy the other. The Italians, a few of their leaders excepted, did not seek to destroy Rome, neither did Rome wish to exterminate the Italian peoples, and before the war was ended the victors granted to the vanquished what the latter had asked for before the first battle had been fought. [In fact, the real victory lay with the Italians.]

With the aid of Drusus the allies had expected success; upon the failure of his projects, and the beginning at Rome of a sanguinary reaction, certain to spread throughout Italy, nothing was left to them but an appeal to the sword. A few years earlier, on the breaking out of the Cimbrian war, they had been reluctant to furnish the contingent required by Rome, and only the urgent persuasions of Sylla had brought them to recognize a danger common to all Italy.[2] And now eight nations, as follows, the Vestini, Marrucini, Frentani, and the inhabitants of Picenum (dwellers on the Adriatic coast and in the rich valleys of the Aternus, the Sagrus and the Tifernus), the Marsians, Pelignians, and Samnites in the mountains, and the Apulians in the south of the peninsula, bound themselves by oaths, interchanged hostages, and concerted a general rising. For the first time entertaining the idea of union, they proposed to form a republic after the model of Rome, having a senate of 500 members, two consuls, and twelve prætors, and taking for their capital city the fortified town of Corfinium

Oath of the Eight Nations.[1]

The Sabellian Bull Goring the Roman Wolf.[3]

[1] Q. SILO. Eight Samnite chiefs swear upon a sow held up by a kneeling soldier. Reverse of a unique silver coin of the Social war.

[2] Plutarch, *Sylla*, 4.

[3] C. PAAPI, in Oscan characters. The Samnite bull driving his horn into the head of the Roman she-wolf. Silver coin of Bovianum or Corfinium.

in the Apennines, in the heart of the revolted country. They gave their capital the significant name of Italica,[1] and later they struck a coin representing the Sabellian bull attacking the Roman she-wolf. The revolt was, in fact, a new Samnite war, the nations foreign to the Sabellian race taking no share in it.[2] The Bruttians as a nation had ceased to exist; Magna Grecia was deserted; Campania was entirely Roman, with the exception of a few localities, Herculaneum, for instance, which declared against the senate; the north of Italy, the Etruscans and Umbrians, whom Rome had so often saved from the Gauls and had now lately

The Minerva of Herculaneum.[3]

[1] *Atque appellarant Italicam.* (Vell. Paterc., ii. 16.) The medals bear the word *Italica.* (Cf. Diod., xxxvii. 1.) Their senate had authority only in respect to the conduct of the war; the brief duration of this federal republic gave no time, however, for any very definite organization. [Whether this confederation, indeed, copied the Roman model is more than doubtful. The appointment of two generals was necessitated by the twofold scene of operations, and, indeed, the geographical nature of the confederacy. But it is more important to consider whether the senate of the league was not *representative*, as the personal attendance of its citizens would be well nigh impossible. If this idea was, indeed, adopted, its defeat was the gravest disaster which ever happened to Italy.—*Ed.*] The idea of imitating Rome was not a new one; the Italians of Scipio's army in their Spanish revolt gave their two leaders the title and insignia of consuls. (Livy, xxviii. 24; Flor., iii. 19.)

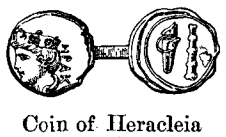
[2] In Etruria the descendants of the Lucumons held all the land, and a popular insurrection would have been as formidable to them as to the Roman nobles.

[3] Minerva, with helmet and ægis, is represented in an attitude of combat. This beautiful

protected against the Cimbri, together with the people of Latium, remained faithful.

The senate, upon receiving information of all these movements, despatched emissaries in every direction. One of these spies reported to the pro-consul Servilius that a certain hostage was to be delivered at Corfinium by the Asculani; the proconsul at once hastened to Asculum, where, upon his using violent and threatening language, the people of the town fell upon him and murdered both Servilius and his lieutenant,[1] and then turned their fury upon all the Romans resident in Asculum, not sparing even the women, many of whom they scalped. It was the signal of war.

Let us now endeavour to estimate the strength of the two sides. In the time of the Gallic invasion the Etruscans, Latins, and Umbrians had agreed to furnish upwards of 120,000 soldiers, while the Sabellians and Apulians could muster 200,000. The proportion is that of three to five, and is likely to have remained



Coin of Heracleia Pontica.[2]

Coin of Carystus.[3]

Bocchus.[4]

about the same. The Italians remaining faithful to Rome were therefore able to furnish at the outbreak of the Social war a contingent equal to three-fifths of the entire force of the allies.[5] In Rome there were, according to the last census, at least 400,000 citizens.[6] Besides this, an army was raised by Sertorius among

statue, now in Naples, was one of the first brought to light by the excavations at Herculaneum, and when unearthed had still traces of gilding on the head and on the pallium. [The stiff drapery and pose mark it as one of those archaising attempts so common in Roman Greek art. What we know as pre-Raphaelite taste existed as pre-Phidian among Roman amateurs.—*Ed.*]

[1] Cic., *pro Font.*, 14; App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 36; Dion., *fr.*, 287.

[2] HPAK. Turreted female head, personification of the city. The reverse, a quiver, a club, and a bunch of grapes. Silver coin of Heracleia Pontica.

[3] Head of Hercules. On the reverse, KAPY. Silver coin of Carystus.

[4] REX BOCV (Bocchus). Griffin and a symbol. Silver coin. (De Luynes, *Essai sur la numismatique des satrapies de la Phénicie*, p. 104.)

[5] Much importance has been attached to the Marsians, but in 225 they, together with the Marrucini, the Frentani, and Vestini, were not able to bring into the field more than 24,000 troops. (Polyb., ii. 24.)

[6] The census of the year 125 gave 390,736 citizens; that of 114, 394,336. (Livy, *Epit.*,

the Cisalpine Gauls;[1] the kings of Numidia furnished cavalry; Bocchus sent Moorish infantry, and, if, as we know, the cities of Heracleia upon the Euxine, Carystus, Miletus, and Clazomenæ, supplied ships, many other cities nearer Rome must have furnished assistance in some form, Marseilles and Rhodes especially, so devoted to the prosperity of the Republic.[2] Lastly, Rome was yet mistress of nearly all the great cities in the very midst of the revolted territory, her former colonies, established usually in strong military positions; moreover, the public treasury contained a great quantity of gold in bullion.

Thus at the senate's command were forces and resources thrice or four times greater than those possessed by the allies, and to this we must add a habit of command and of undertaking great affairs, unity in the direction of the campaign, and the experience of generals and discipline of soldiers lately trained by two great wars.

And still further, Rome found herself able to bear, in the midst of this struggle, the weight of domestic difficulties and seditions. In the city an upright prætor was assassinated by the usurers whom he had endeavoured to bring within the bounds of law;[3] in the army a consular lieutenant was killed by his own soldiers; and even a consul, Porcius Cato, perished, perhaps by the hands of his own people, after having escaped from a first outbreak. The public confidence was in no way impaired by all this.

Coin of Miletus.[4]

lx. and lxiii.) All the MSS. agree in giving these figures. If it be said that there had been heavy losses by the Cimbrian war, we may reply that the Italians lost in that war as well as the Romans. It is, moreover, well known that the population of Rome even increased during the second Punic war. [No doubt by the many fugitives from Hannibal's devastations.—*Ed.*]

[1] Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, ii. 27, following Sallust and Plutarch (in *Sertorius*).

[2] A senatus-consultum of May 22, 78, decreed honours to three captains from Carystus, Clazomenæ, and Miletus for their services in the Italic war. (*C. I. L.*, vol. i. p. 203.)

[3] Livy, *Epit.*, lxxiv. and lxxv.; Val. Max., IX. viii. 3; Diod., *fr.*, cxiv.; it was the prætor Sempronius Asellio.

[4] Laurelled head of Apollo. On the reverse, ΜΙΛΕΣΙΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΣ. A lion looking at a star. Silver coin of Miletus.

From the Capitol, where they were in session, the senate could see rising behind the Sabine hills the smoke of conflagrations kindled by the enemy, but not a single soldier was called back from the provinces. And as on the day when, according to tradition, Hannibal from his camp, looking down into Rome, saw troops destined for Spain march out from the opposite gates of the city, so now, in the most critical period of the present struggle, the senate sent away an army to crush revolted Salluvii in Transalpine Gaul. They did still more; defying Mithridates, to whom the allies had appealed for aid, the senate re-established upon their thrones two eastern kings, Nicomedes of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia.[1]

Mithridates VI. (Eupator).[2]

At the same time the war was a very formidable one. Could it be expected that the provincials would remain tranquil spectators of this strife? Would the slaves, to whom the allies opened their ranks, would Mithridates, for whose help they appealed, wait until the combatants, weary of fighting, should be willing to return to their former friendly relations? Happily for Rome the war was a short one.

The two Italian consuls, Pompædius, the Marsian, and Papius Motulus, the Samnite, divided the army and the provinces; the former to operate in the north, to incite to revolt, if possible, the Umbrians and Etruscans, and to penetrate by way of the Sabine country into the valley of the Tiber; the latter to move southward towards Campania, and advance upon Rome through Latium. Protected by the two main armies, the lieutenants, Judacilius, Lamponius Afranius, Vettius Scato, and Marius Egnatius were expected to carry the places in the interior which made resistance, and drive the Roman garrisons out of Lucania and Apulia.

Nicomedes III.[2]

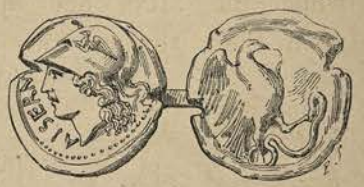
[1] Livy's *Epitome*, lxxiv., places the rehabilitation of the two kings in the year 90, and Clinton accepts that date. (See *Fasti Hellen.*, in the appendix to vol. iii., "Kings of Bithynia," p. 419.) [But the crisis of the Social war was then over.—*Ed.*]

[2] From a tetradrachm.

Before blood was shed the leaders of the allies made a last effort, sending deputies to the senate with a proposal to lay down arms if the citizenship should now be granted them; but the senate refused to listen.[1]

Coin of Motulus.[2]

A hundred thousand men opened the campaign, it is stated, by the siege of Alba in the Marsian country, Æsernia in Samnium, and Pinna in the country of the Vestinii, three fortified towns, which it was considered dangerous to leave unsubdued in coming down from the mountains.



Coin of Æsernia.[3]

The senate, on their part, sent into the field 100,000 legionaries, and directed their first efforts towards confining the insurrection within the Apennines. The consuls at this time were Julius Cæsar and P. Rutilius (90); the former occupied Campania and endeavoured to enter Samnium; the latter, for the purpose of covering the Sabine country, took up a position behind the Tolenus, an affluent of the Velinus,[4] and closed the Tiburtine road, the only one entering the hilly Marsian country, and no doubt the route by which Pompædius proposed to descend.[6] Perperna, with 10,000 men thrown between the two consular armies, defended the approach to Latium by way of

Coin of Asculum.[5]

[1] Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 39; Livy, *Epit.*, lxxii.

[2] MVTIL EMBRATVR [imperator] in Oscan. Head of Pallas. On the reverse C. PAAPI, in Oscan; two chiefs swearing alliance upon a sow held up by a kneeling soldier. Silver coin of the Social war.

[3] AISERN and a head of Pallas. On the reverse, an eagle destroying a serpent. Coin of Æsernia.

[4] The Velinus falls into the Nar, which is itself a branch of the Tiber. All these valleys, it will be seen, come out upon that river, which forms the great highway between the central Apennines and Rome.

[5] ΑΣΚΛΑ. Victory before a palm tree. Reverse of a coin of Asculum, which Strabo and others call Ἄσκλον.

[6] Appian is of opinion that the Liris was the base of operations for the army of Rutilius. Ovid (*Fast.*, vi. 565) places the consul on the Tolenus, which is more probable, since Carseoli is upon this river, and since, moreover, its valley is the outlet from the Marsian into the Sabine country. The head waters of the two rivers, separated by Mounts Grani and Carbonario, are, however, but five miles apart, and the Roman troops no doubt were entrenched behind them both, thus protecting the whole of Latium against the Marsi.

the mountains;[1] Marius and Cæpio, with two army corps, manœuvred upon the wings of Rutilius' legions to give aid to Perperna in the south, and in the north to the proconsul, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, who was endeavouring to enter Umbria by way of Picenum, while Sulpicius, another legate, was advancing into the country of the Pelignians. It was expected that these two generals, making a flank movement around the army of Pompædius, would attack Corfinium, which had had the presumption to accept the rôle of a rival of Rome, and Asculum, the city whence had been given the signal for the war. In the south-east Crassus was to operate in Lucania, in the rear of the Samnite Motulus,[3] while a large force was retained in Rome itself, where posts were set at the gates and upon the walls,[4] and T. Piso was directed to see to the fabrication of arms.[5]

Coin of Lucania.[2]

The Romans had not, however, completed their arrangements when the Italians, attacking furiously at every point, surprised the legions and caused them to fall back. The consul, J. Cæsar, imprudently attacking the Samnites, was defeated by Vettius Scato, and driven back behind Æsernia.[6] This city, watered by an affluent of the Vulturnus, and Venafrum, nearly opposite to it, on the other side of the same river, and situated on the Latin road, close the long valley of the Vulturnus leading up from Campania into the interior of Samnium. Though poorly provisioned, Æsernia made a heroic resistance, but Venafrum was given into the power of Egnatius by treason, and its garrison massacred. The defeat of Perperna completed the destruction of this line, with which

Coin of Nuceria.[7]

[1] The position of Perperna is not stated by Appian; it may possibly have been between Rutilius and Pompey.

[2] ΑΟΥΚΑΝΩΜ. Jupiter walking. Reverse of a Lucanian coin.

[3] These positions are nowhere laid down, either in Appian or in Diodorus; hence the Social war is usually an inextricable chaos. They, however, became evident, as does the plan of the campaign, from an attentive study of the localities and events of the war.

[4] *Ὡς ἐπ' οἰκείῳ καὶ γείτονι μάλιστα ἔργῳ.* (App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 40.)

[5] Cicero, *in Pis.*, 36.

[6] Cf. Diod., xxxvii., *Frag.*, and Livy, *Epit.*, lxxiii.

[7] NVKPINVM ALAFATERNUM, in Oscan characters. A wolf. Reverse of a bronze coin of Nuceria.

Gulf of Salerno (from the north).

the senate had hoped to hem in the chief centre of the insurrection. Through the breach which he had thus made Papius Motulus, the Italian consul, invaded Campania, leaving a blockading corps to mask Æsernia.[1] Avoiding the strong cities of the northern part of Campania, Motulus hastened southward, where he had secret friends. Treason gave Nola into his hands, and its garrison of 2,000 men were received into his army, with the exception only of the officers, whom he condemned to perish by starvation. From this time it became the established custom of the Italian generals to make this distinction among their Roman prisoners, putting to death the knights and nobles, and enrolling the slaves and common soldiers in their own army.

The cities on the shores of the Bay of Naples and the Gulf of Salerno, Minturnæ, Salernum, Stabiæ, Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Liternum were constrained to join the allies; a few other cities yielded, and the Italian general obtained in all 10,000 foot-soldiers and 1,000 horse; he also armed all the slaves who came to him. But Naples, which even after the war refused citizenship, remained faithful as in the time of Hannibal; Nuceria, surrounded by places which had yielded to the enemy, stood firm, and Acerræ, a few miles south of Capua, braved with heroic resistance all the efforts of the allies, while Capua, filled with citizens, served the Roman troops as arsenal and place of refuge. The second year of the war Magnius, a Capuan, levied a whole legion at his own expense in the country of the Hirpini.

Coin of Acerræ.[2]

The access to Latium from the south was closed, but at the very gates of Rome the Tiburtini for a moment wavered in their fidelity to the Republic. From their city the Capitol was visible, and they had command of the military road, which, following the course of the Anio, plunged into the mountains and gave access to the country of the Marsians. It was, therefore,

[1] The city compelled its slaves to go out, and they were made welcome in the camp of the besiegers; also the two Roman leaders, L. Scipio and L. Acilius made their escape. The people in the city were reduced to eating dogs καὶ τἄλλα ζῶα. (Diod., *Exc. Vat.*, ii. 119, and App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 41.)

[2] Jupiter and a victory in a quadriga. AKERL, the city's name in Oscan, and four balls, indicating a *triens*. Reverse of a bronze coin of Acerræ.

of the first importance to prevent the defection of Tibur; the senate used no violent measures, but a decree proposed by the prætor L. Cornelius assured the Tiburtini that the senate relied upon their fidelity, an excellent means of leading them to renounce their design, if they had formed one, by showing them that they had become objects of suspicion.[1]

Lucius Cornelius.

Half Campania meanwhile had been lost, and the cities of Lucania and Apulia, feebly assisted, had fallen one by one into the power of the enemy; Grumentum, the strongest place in Lucania, being left exposed by the defeat of Crassus, was taken by Lamponius,[2] and Judacilius made himself master of *Canusium and Venusia. Pinna, also in the country of the Vestini, yielded, but not until after the inhabitants had seen their children, who were in the enemy's hands, brought out in view of the walls,* and threatened with death, and had still refused to surrender.[3]

Other greater successes brought encouragement to the allies. Cæsar, in the endeavour to relieve Acerræ, fell into an ambush laid by Egnatius in a narrow gorge, and could not rally the remnant of his army until they had fled as far as Teanum,[4] the position which, after the battle of Cannæ, the Romans had made the base of their resistance. In the meantime the other consul, Rutilius, being drawn by Vettius Scato into an ambuscade on the other side of the Tolenus, perished there with a portion of his army. Marius was not far distant, and, notified by the sight of many dead bodies floating down the Tolenus that an action had

[1] . . . . *de iis rebus peccatum non esse.* This senatus-consultum is still extant (Orelli, No. 3114); it has no date, but many reasons lead to the conclusion that it belongs to the period of the Social war. With this bronze tablet there was also found at Tivoli the bust of the prætor Cornelius, which we give from the *Iconographie romaine* of Visconti, pl. iv. No. 6.

[2] A fragment of Diodorus seems to begin at this point a narrative of a single combat between Lamponius and Crassus.

[3] Diod., fr. xxxvii. 20, and *Exc. Vat.*, ii. 119.

[4] Appian wrongly places this defeat after Cæsar's victory, of which mention will be made later.

taken place, he hastily crossed to the enemy's side of the river, and marched rapidly into the camp of the victors, who were occupied in gathering their spoils on the battlefield.

After the defeats of the two consuls, came that of Pompeius, against whom three Italian generals were united, the successes in the south having left them free to move northward and join their forces to arrest his advance. It had been the design of Pompeius to besiege Asculum, but defeated by superior numbers, he had fallen back upon Firmum, where Afranius held him fast. This retreat upon the Adriatic left Umbria unprotected; numerous Italiot emissaries hastened thither, and soon the fidelity of the Etruscans and Umbrians began to give way.[1] In Latium even, there were symptoms of danger, and it is probable that at this time it was known that the allies were intending to send a deputation to Mithridates. Consequently when news of all these disasters and perils was received at Rome—when, especially the dead bodies of Rutilius and other persons of importance who had been slain, were brought home—the mourning in the city was as great as in the darkest days of the second Punic war. To prevent excessive discouragement, the senate limited the time of mourning, and made a decree that for the future the funeral rites should be performed where the deceased had fallen, whether he were chief or soldier. Another senatus-consultum ordered all citizens to assume war dress; even the freedmen were armed and were formed into twelve bands, who were posted at Ostia, at Cumæ, and no doubt also all along the Appian Way.

Fortunately for Rome her geographical position, which in the past had been so helpful to her growth, now helped her salvation. Placed behind the line of battle, and in a central position, permitting her to receive by her river all needful supplies, and, by her military roads, to send them rapidly forward to her legions, she fed her armies without difficulty, and followed a fixed plan. The Italiots, on the other hand, without ships and without harbours, were hampered by the lack both of food and munitions. Communicating among themselves only across the central mass of the Apennines, where rise the highest summits of the chain, they

[1] Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 47.

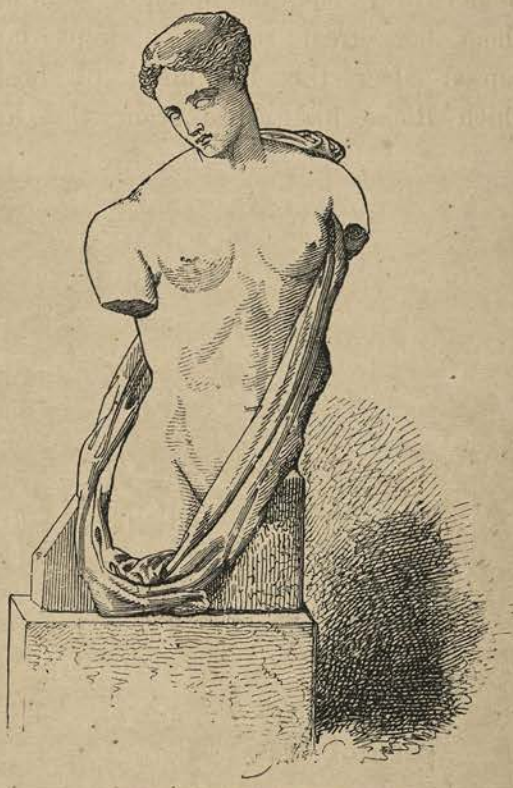
could not concert their movements and frequently attacked at random. They lacked siege material, and after they had taken a few cities by surprise or treason, they could do no more. Finally they had no foreign aid, while Rome had many allies whom her great reputation kept faithful. But a few months elapsed after the beginning of hostilities before the assistance which Rome had asked from the kings and nations friendly to

Roman Bridge over the Ostian Road.

her, began to arrive. Sicily distinguished herself by her eagerness in furnishing all kinds of supplies needful for armies.[1] Ten thousand Cisalpine Gauls whom Sertorius had brought to the consul Cæsar, after his defeat by Egnatius, and many thousand Moors and Numidians who came to him from Africa, gave him confidence again to take the offensive. He marched upon Acerræ,

[1] *Siciliam nobis non pro penaria cella, sed pro ærario illo majorum vetere ac referto fuisse; nam sine ullo sumptu nostro, coriis, tunicis, frumentoque suppeditando, maximos exercitus nostros vestivit, aluit, armavit.* (Cic., *II in Verr.* ii. 2.)

between Naples and Capua, for the purpose of raising the siege of that town, and, notwithstanding the desertion of many of the Numidians when Motulus exhibited to them in royal attire Oxyntas, a son of Jugurtha, found interned at Venusia, Cæsar slew 6,000 of the enemy, and was able to throw a body of troops into the town. This news arriving at Rome calmed the public mind, and the garb of peace (toga) was resumed.[1]



Psyche [or Venus] of Capua.[3]

In the north, the legate Sulpicius, after defeating the Pelignians, had hastened to the aid of Pompeius, at that time shut up in Firmum; a double attack, concerted by the two Roman generals, put the allies to flight, and Pompeius at once proceeded to close the approaches to Umbria by recommencing the siege of Asculum.[2]

The senate had united what remained of the defeated army of Rutilius with the troops under the command of Marius and Cæpio; but, distrusting Marius, had given equal authority to the two generals,[4] and Cæpio, dazzled by a slight success, allowed himself to be again drawn into a snare by Pompædius Silo. The proconsul and a great number of Romans were slain. This disaster, and the loss of Æsernia, which at last yielded, compelled the senate to give to Marius, instead of the insignificant force hitherto entrusted to him, the

[1] Livy, *Epit.* lxxiii.; Orosius, v. 18.

[2] Asculum was upon the *via Salaria*, the only road crossing the Apennines from this side.

[3] Torso of an admirable statue found in the Capuan ampitheatre (*Mus. Borbon.*, No. 203).

[4] Livy, *Epit.* lxxiii.; *Æquatum ei cum C. Mario esset imperium.*

whole of the original consular army. The veteran general soon restored discipline, and by skilfully choosing impregnable positions, checked the victorious Marsians—"If you are so great a general," one of the leaders of the allies said to Marius, "why don't you come out and fight?" "If you are so skilful, why don't you force me?" the Roman rejoined. He did, however, fight them at last, and killed the prætor of the Marrucini, Herius Asinius. But the peasant of Arpinum, the former accomplice of Saturninus, the man who had given citizenship and a place in his legions to so many Italians, was reluctant to fight against the party he had formerly favoured, and in which he still had his best friends. On one occasion his army and that of Pompædius chanced to meet; friends and kindred recognized one another; they called out to each other by name, and exchanged salutations, while even the two generals allowed themselves to converse as friends, and discuss the prospects of the much desired peace. The soldiers on both sides finally mingled freely,[1] and the scene was like a meeting of townsmen for some peaceful object.

Had Marius been at this time, as he was during the Cimbrian war, in command of all the forces of the Republic, he might then have made an end of the Social war, and again had occasion to say that amid the clash of arms he had failed to hear the voice of law; but the senate, suspicious of his intentions, had left him powerless to decide alone upon the conduct of the war, and, at this very moment, Sylla, his former lieutenant and now his enemy, was following him with an army.

Sylla had made his way but slowly, hitherto. In 94, he was defeated at the elections, only obtaining the prætorship the following year by the use of money. When he threatened a consular with his official authority the other had retorted: "You do well to use it; doubtless it is indeed yours—by right of purchase." Being sent into Asia, though without an army, to keep Mithridates in check, he had driven the king out of Cappadocia, and had returned to Rome with a high reputation as a skilful politician. An offering in the Capitol by Bocchus, representing himself delivering up Jugurtha to the quæstor of the Numidian army, had

[1] Diod., xxxvii.: Ἡ πᾶσα σύνοδος ἐκ πολεμικῆς τάξεως εἰς πανηγυρικὴν διάθεσιν μετέπεσεν.

deeply incensed Marius. He had sought to destroy these statues, and the matter would doubtless have come to violence, had not the Italian insurrection supervened. Marius avoided energetic action in this war; on one occasion he had refused to complete a victory, and all the profit and honour of the day fell to the share of Sylla, who had followed the enemy, routed them, and gained an entire success. In all this Marius showed himself unchanged. As tribune he had caused the defeat of a popular law; as consul he had publicly reviled the senate. He was a friend of Saturninus, yet caused his death; a partisan of the Italians, yet fought against them at the head of the legions of Rome, and these he held back on the eve of victory; his conduct was always in contradiction to his convictions. Compromised in the eyes of the senate and the people in the affair of Saturninus, he had exiled himself from Rome, and now, after doing harm enough to the Italians to make them regard him as an enemy, yet not enough to secure the gratitude of the Romans, he resigned his command, alleging infirmities, and withdrew, angry and envious, to his villa at Misenum, while Sylla came forward to take his place and to found his own fortunes by the same war in which those of his rival had been ruined.

Bocchus delivering Jugurtha to Sylla.[1]

While the military movements of which we have spoken were going on in Campania and the country of the Marsians, two prætors had been sent to display the standards of Rome to the Umbrians and Etruscans, and to chastise two cities, Fæsulæ and Ocriculum, which had sided with the Italians.[2] This moment of unexpected good fortune was seized by the senate to make a concession which should not have the appearance of being extorted. The *Julian*

Fæsulæ.[3]

[1] Sylla, seated between the kneeling Bocchus and Jugurtha, the latter being bound; behind Sylla, the name Felix, which he assumed later. Reverse of a silver coin of the Cornelian *gens*.

[2] Flor., iii. 18; Livy, *Epit.*, lxxiv. Ocriculum, which had enjoyed great prosperity owing to its position on the Flaminian Way, is called in some inscriptions *splendidissima civitas*. The admirable mosaic represented here, now in the Vatican, was found in this city.

[3] Flying gorgon. Silver coin of Fæsulæ.

law of the consul Cæsar offered citizenship to all inhabitants of cities not involved in the revolt, on condition that each of them came to Rome within sixty days, and declared before the prætor that he accepted all the rights and obligations of the *jus civitatis*.

This concession, which confirmed the fidelity of some, while exciting the hopes and regrets of others, was one of the ablest

Mosaic from Ocriculum.

strokes directed against the Italian confederation. In order to conquer her enemies Rome introduced divisions among them; it was her old and always successful policy.[1]

[1] [It is, however, certain that this great concession *was* extorted from a reluctant majority of the senate by the real fear of the Italian power. The defeats of Rome were such that had she not weakened her enemy, another campaign might have brought her to her knees.—*Ed.*]

Mosaic at Ocriculum. (Detail of a section.)

III.—Second and Third Years of the Social War (89—88).

Rome, taken unawares in the first year of the Social war, had, for a time, experienced only reverses; during the last months of the year success seemed evenly divided, but the second year

Ascoli (Asculum p. 570).[1]

opened with a general attack on the part of Rome.[2] The new consuls, Cn. Pompeius and Porcius Cato, opposed the confederates in the north. Sylla, who was the consular legate of Porcius, and J. Cæsar, who remained, as pro-consul, in command of the southern army, were ordered to drive Papius Motulus out of Campania; the prætors Cosconius and Lucceius were to recover the cities of Apulia, and Gabinius those of Lucania. The very considerable forces entrusted to these generals placed them in a position to fulfil the expectations of the senate. Porcius penetrated the Marsian country, and attacked the allies repeatedly, but at last fell, mortally wounded, in the attack upon a camp near Lake Fucinus,[3]

[1] Diod., xxxvii. 2.

[2] From an engraving of the sixteenth century. *Bibliothèque nationale.*

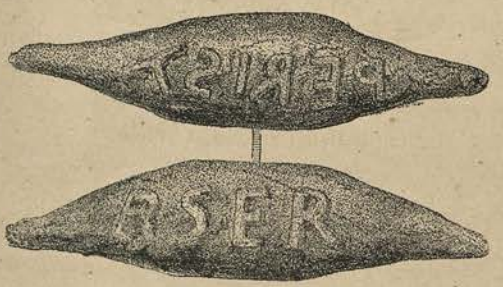
[3] He may have been killed by the younger Marius in revenge for severe language used respecting his father. (Orosius, v. 18; Vell. Paterc., ii. 16.)

and the Marsians took advantage of this success to send an army into the region of Etruria, and again attempt to rouse the inhabitants.[1] Pompeius, who was blockading Asculum, came out of his camp, defeated the Marsian corps, and returned to draw more closely the lines of the siege. Judacilius, however, succeeded in passing through the lines; Asculum was his native town, and he was determined either to save it or perish with it. In the city he found only discouragement; feeling, then, that the allies' cause was hopeless, he caused a funeral pile to be erected in front of the principal temple and a couch prepared upon its top; he then gathered his friends for a last banquet, took poison, and, lying down upon the pile, ordered it to be set on fire. These brave soldiers were of savage temper, and the men of that day loved vengeance. Judacilius had despatched before him all the inhabitants of the city who were suspected of desiring peace. The rest had no better fate. When Asculum opened her gates the victors spared none save the women and children.[2]

No. 1.

No. 2.

No. 3.



No. 4.

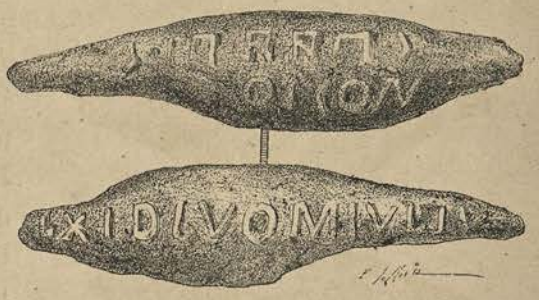
Sling-bullets found at Asculum.[3]

[1] Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 50; Vell. Paterc., ii. 21.

[2] Livy, *Epit.*, lxxv., lxxvi.; Flor., iii. 18.

[3] The earthworks recently constructed under the Roman ramparts of Asculum have brought to view, especially in the bed of the *fiume di Castello*, an affluent of the Tronto, many leaden projectiles to be used in slings. Of these a number bear a double inscription, proving that they served both sides in turn. These inscriptions are names of chiefs, devices, insults addressed to the enemy, even revelations made by traitors:—No. 1. *Pompe[ius]*, first inscription; *Judacil[ius] Picen*, second; missile thrown first by the besiegers and sent back by the city. No. 2. *Fricas Rom[anos]* ("You rub the Romans"). No. 3. *C. Marius*; this general was not present at the siege, but he doubtless sent Pompeius munitions bearing his name. No 4. *Peristis servi* ("Death

To save this bulwark of the league, Vettius Scato had marched thither with a large force. The armies for some time hesitated to engage. Parleys took place, and Cicero, at this time serving his first campaign, was present at an interview between Scato and the consul's brother, who had ties of hospitality with the Italian. "By what title shall I address you?" said Sextus Pompeius, and the Marsian replied, "Call me your host; in spirit I am so still, although by necessity I am your enemy."[1] They failed to come to terms. The action was severe, and the retreat of the Italians disastrous. They fled in midwinter across the crest of the mountains. Pompeius, following them in hot haste, found whole cohorts which had fallen exhausted in the snow and had perished from cold. Scato, their leader, also perished. A story



No. 5.

No. 6.

No. 7.

Sling-bullets found at Asculum.

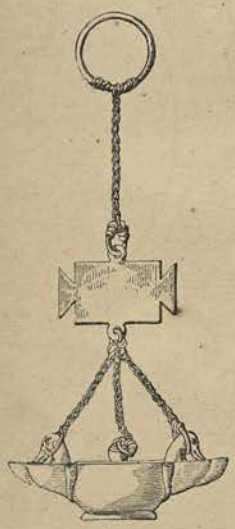
to slaves"); upon another we read, *Feri Cassium* ("Strike Cassius"); upon still another, *V[indicamus] justa* ("We claim that which is just"). These three missiles prove that a battle with the gladiators of Spartacus took place under the walls of Asculum; we know that a general of the name of Cassius commanded in that war. Fifty years later this city saw other military events, of which history says nothing, but there are found leaden projectiles cast for the war of Perusia in the year 40; thus No. 5 bears on one side in Oscan characters, that are to be read backwards: *C[aius] Paapi Cai [filius]*, which were the names of the great leader Papius Mutilus, and on the other side: L. XI. DIVOM IVLIVM ("Eleventh legion, the divine Julius"). No. 6. *L. Antoni periste* ("Death to L. Antonius"), the brother of the triumvir who had shut himself up in Perusia. No. 7. *M. Anto. imp.* (M. Antonius imperator). This was a missile which the enemies of Octavius marked with the name of their leader.

M. Ernest Desjardins, from whom we borrow these illustrations and their description, has placed beyond all doubt, in his learned work on the leaden missiles found at Ascoli, the authenticity of these curious relics. The custom of inscribing upon projectiles names, threats, insults, or even traitorous information, was habitual. (See Cæsar, *Bell. Hisp.*, 13, 18, and 19.) We shall have more to say by and bye in respect to the war of Perusia.

[1] Cicero, *Philipp.* xii. 11.

was told of his last moments, which Seneca, the great declaimer of philosophic sentences, has preserved to us. "Being made prisoner, he was brought before Pompeius, when one of his slaves who followed him snatching a sword from a soldier of the guard, struck Scato, crying out, 'I enfranchise my master; it is my turn next,' and killed himself."[1] The story is extremely theatrical, but by no means impossible.

The defeat of Vettius Scato[2] was followed by the submission of all the neighbouring nations, the Marrucini, the Vestini, and the Peligniaṅs surrendering at discretion, and even the Marsians laying down their arms.[3] Upon his return to Rome Pompeius obtained a triumph; behind his chariot walked a boy destined one day himself to be consul, Ventidius the Asculan. In Apulia the prætor Cosconius had defeated and killed Egnatius, the ablest of the generals of the allies, and after him the Samnite Trebatius. Most of the cities opened their gates to the Roman general; in two days he had subjugated the Peucetians, on the north of Tarentum, and Brundusium, so that when Metellus Pius had recovered Venusia,[4] the whole province was restored to peace.



Bronze Lamp found at Stabiæ.[5]

Cæsar, having died of illness early in his proconsulship, the whole weight of the war in Campania had fallen upon Sylla, who had exhibited in this campaign his wonted zeal and activity. Stabiæ, first attacked, was destroyed, and Herculaneum and Pompeii surrendered; near Pompeii, Sylla, after a first rebuff, forced the

[1] *De Benef.*, iii. 23.

[2] Livy (*Epit.*, lxxvi.) attributes the subjugation of the Marsians, *aliquot prœliis fracti*, to Murena and Metellus Pius. Velleius Paterculus (ii. 21) gives to the allies in this battle more than 60,000 men, and 75,000 to the Romans. This is evidently an exaggeration. Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 50) speaks only of 5,000 slain.

[3] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 52. *In deditionem accepit.* (Livy, *Epit.*, lxxvi.)

[4] The taking of Venusia possibly occurred in the following year (88). (Cf. Diod., *fragm.*, xxxvii.)

[5] This double lamp, found at Stabiæ in 1782, is preserved in the museum of Herculaneum. At the time it was found, the wick, folded in the interior of the vessel, was perfectly intact, after an inhumation of seventeen centuries. (Roux, *Herculan. et Pompéi*, vol. vii., 3rd Series, pl. 39.)

lines of the Samnite Cluentius, and pursued him as far as the city of Nola. There he found a formidable camp, and in an imprudent attack upon it, a portion of his army narrowly escaped destruction. He rescued them, however, and received from them the finest of all the military rewards, the obsidional crown.[1] Cluentius had been killed in the conflict.

Livy relates an occurrence of this campaign which is almost

Marines Fighting on Shipboard.[2]

unparalleled in the history of Rome; the admiral of the fleet, Postumius Albinus, ordered to act in concert with Sylla, was slain by mutineers, who accused him of treason.[3] The accusation was certainly false, but these marines, recruited from the very lowest

[1] Appian (i. 50), for the first time since the beginning of the war, gives large figures. 30,000 men slain in the rout, and 20,000 in the second battle.

[2] Scheffer, *Mil. nav.*, in *Addend.*

[3] *Epit.*, lxxv.

classes, had not the ingrained respect of the legionary for discipline.[1] "These men are mine," said Sylla, "since they have committed a crime," and in expiation he required from them a victory, which they gave him by the defeat of Cluentius.

By these three successes, that of Pompeius in the north-east, Sylla in the south-west, and Cosconius in the south-east, the allies were, as they had been in the first Samnite war, driven out of the plains which extend along the base of the Apennines. Since the Pelignians had abandoned the cause, the allies had transferred their senate and seat of government to Bovianum.[2] Pompædius Silo was placed in command of their remaining forces, now but 30,000 men,[3] but he called the slaves from all sides to liberty, and armed as many as 21,000 of them. Papius Motulus had had recourse to the same expedient in Campania, Judacilius in Apulia,[4] and the last Italian army endeavoured to call out the Sicilian slaves. Rome herself had armed her freedmen; it was quite as much a servile as a social war. Pompædius sought to add to it still further a foreign war by asking aid from Mithridates, who received at the same time secret appeals from the provincials of Greece, Africa, and Asia. It became needful that Rome should put an end to this war, for all whom she oppressed were about to rise and unite: the last blows were struck by Sylla. Deceiving Motulus by skilful manœuvres, he crossed mountains reputed impracticable, and suddenly appeared

Coin of Bovianum.[5]

[1] This spirit of discipline was, however, beginning to be enfeebled. Of this we have already had many proofs. Still another was given in this war: Porcius Cato would have been stoned by his mutinous soldiers if, as Dion Cassius relates (*fr.*, 100), they had found stones in the ploughed fields where they were encamped; failing this, they threw at him clods of earth, which did him no harm.

[2] Diodorus, xxxvii. 2.

[3] Diodorus (*ibid.*) calls *μεγάλην δύναμιν* this army of 30,000 men that had been gathered with difficulty by calling out all who had already served; the armies in this war were, it is evident, not so strong as the rhetoricians have represented them. Florus (iii. 18) regards this war as more formidable than that of Hannibal, and Velleius Paterculus affirms that it cost Italy 300,000 men; but he magnifies the forces of Cinna in 84 to thirty legions, and the losses in the two Servile wars to 1,000,000 of slaves. With but one exception Appian speaks always of moderate losses: Cæsar, before Æsernia, loses 2,000 men; Perperna, 4,000; Crassus, 8,000, etc.

[4] Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 42: *δούλους ἐστράτευε.*

[5] SABINIM (written backwards). Soldier standing, a couchant ox at his feet. Reverse of a silver coin of the Social war, attributed to Bovianum. One of the results of the Social war

in the neighbourhood of Æsernia. The Italian consul hastened thither to save so important a place, but was defeated, and carried into the city mortally wounded. The taking of Bovianum, the second capital of the league, terminated this prosperous campaign, in which Sylla had conquered the consulship. Pompædius Silo recovered the place later, it is true, after a victorious engage-

Vase from Nola (pp. 573, 576).[1]

ment, and made a triumphal entry with the same pomp displayed by Roman generals in similar circumstances; but a short time after he fell in a skirmish while seeking again to rouse Apulia[2] (end of the year 89).

The *Plautian-Papirian* law,[3] which extended the benefits of

was the closing of mints throughout Italy. Henceforth Roman money alone was current in the peninsula.

[1] A winged Hebe with a caduceus in her hand. *Cabinet de France*, No. 4862.

[2] Livy (*Epit.*, lxxv.) says that he was killed in a rencontre with Mamercus Æmilius, and places the capture of Asculum at some point of time after his death, which is manifestly an error.

[3] The following is the text of this law as given by Cicero in the *pro Archia*, 4: *Data est civitas . . . . si qui fœderatis civitatibus adscripti fuissent: si tum, cum lex ferebatur, in Italia domicilium habuissent, si sexaginta diebus apud prætorem essent professi.* This law had been proposed by the two tribunes, M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo. Three prætors

the *Julian* law to all the inhabitants of the allied cities, from the Po to the Straits of Messina, another of the consul Pompeius Strabo (89), which granted the *jus Latii* to the Transpadane, and especially the judicious moderation of the senate in the use of their victory, took away all force and all danger from what remained of the war. The leaders of the insurrection had perished; the Italian senate, which had taken refuge at Æsernia, was dispersed; only the Samnites, the Lucanians, and a few cities still held out, Nola, for instance, which Sylla, now consul, returned to besiege. Numerous bands also were haunting the Apennines. In the hope of reawakening the Servile war in Sicily, these scattered remnants of the Italian army essayed to seize Rhegium. Having been defeated in this attempt by the vigilance of the prætor, C. Norbanus, they fell back into the trackless forests of the Sila, whence they came forth to have a share in the sanguinary conflicts of the Marian and Syllan factions. These new disasters, results of the former, were soon to fall upon the Italian peninsula—proscriptions of individuals, military devastations of cities, and the Italian people long remembered this warfare, in which the blood of Italy and of Rome flowed so freely. Under the emperors, men still spoke of it as a war more terrible than those of Hannibal or of Pyrrhus: *nec Annibalis nec Pyrrhi fuit tanta vastatio.*[1] And, in truth, never in so short a time had any country so great loss of human life and devastation of cities.[2]

IV.—Citizenship given to the Italians.

Although defeated, the Italians had forced their entrance into citizenship. They were no longer strangers in Rome, no tribune ever again should insolently drive them forth; they were sharers

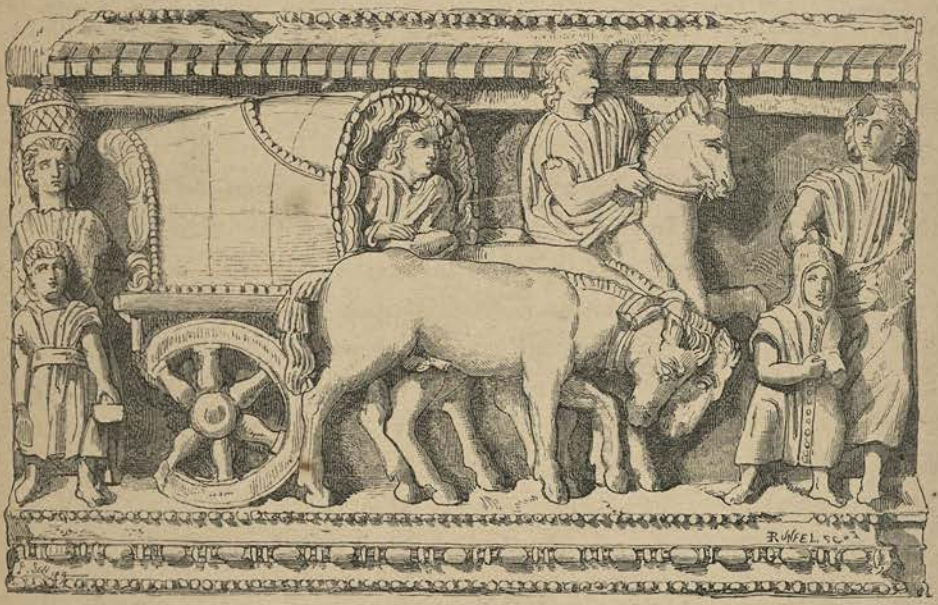
received the declamations—Appius Claudius Pulcher, P. Gabinius Capito, and Q. Cæc. Metellus Pius. "Appius," says Cicero, "kept his registers carelessly, and the levity of Gabinius took all credence from his." (*Ibid.*, 5.) The *Julian* law had given the *jus civitatis* to all faithful allies: the *Plautian* law gave it to all the allied cities, some of which, however, as we shall see, preferred to retain their own customs; and the *Plautian-Papirian* law, in order to create even in these cities a Roman party, permitted any individual of them to come to Rome and take the rank of citizen.

[1] Florus, iii. 18.

[2] [It was another case of wanton and stupid blundering on the part of Rome, followed by

henceforth in the renown and the imperial power of the people-king; the Forum belonged to them; the world was theirs; they were Roman citizens.

But when, after the first excitement was past, they re-read those *Julian* and *Plautian* laws which had made so many among them ready to lay down their arms, when they saw that it was requisite to be in Rome within sixty days to give their names to the prætor, many began to see that the journey was long,



Travellers.[1]

and the time allowed very short.[2] The rich, however, all hastened to Rome; and the vagabond crowd whom no ties held

frightful consequences. Had the *Julian* and *Papirian* laws been passed three years sooner, and not extorted from them by the war, all this misery would have been avoided, and the further devastation of Italy saved.—*Ed.*]

[1] Bas-relief in the Louvre. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 151 *bis*, No. 794.) A Roman family travelling, riding the ancient cart called *carpentum*. (Cf. Saglio, p. 927.)

[2] The usage, later established by laws, of accepting a valid for citizenship the registration made by the local magistrates in the case of the *fundani*, was perhaps already in existence, and would have afforded relief in this matter. Still further relief was granted by the permission, which seems to have been given in certain cases, to appear by proxy (Varro, *de Ling Lat.*, vi. 86); but all had not the means of doing this, and many believed that the surer way was to obey the law strictly, and present themselves in Rome within the sixty days. The designating of three prætors to receive the declarations proves that extraordinary measures were required to provide for the registration of the new citizens.

at home, also made their way thither; but whatever representatives of the middle class yet remained in Italy, hesitated. The roads were not safe, armed bands traversed the country in every direction, plundering, since they could no longer fight; besides this, in the Greek cities most of the inhabitants were disinclined to abandon their hereditary laws and adopt those of a city devoted only to war, and despising traffic.[1] Thus the yeoman remained upon his farm, and the trader of Naples, Tarentum, Puteoli, in his city. And so the designated time went by, and the prætor had registered but a small minority of the Italians, perhaps not over 80,000 men.[2]

But another disappointment awaited the new citizens at Rome. Instead of taking their places in the thirty-five tribes already

[1] The *jus civitatis* was to be formally adopted by the people obtaining it; the nation then became *fundus* (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 8), and its inhabitants were *fundani*. But a man could not be both a citizen of Rome and of some other city; he must choose between them. (Cf. Corn. Nep., *Att.*, 3.) Cicero says this in so many words: *Ex nostro iure duarum civitatum nemo esse possit, tum amittitur hæc civitas . . . . cum is . . . . receptus est . . . . in aliam civitatem.* (*Pro Cæcina*, 34; Cf. *pro Balbo*, 13.)

[2] It is generally held that all Italy gained at that time the right of citizenship. But Cicero, in his oration *pro Balbo*, speak of certain States only who shared the right; he mentions a concession of citizenship made by Crassus to an inhabitant of *Alatrium*, also speaks of the *Papian* law which again, in the year 66, expelled the *peregrini*. The census, too, which before the war represented the number of citizens as 394,336, gives the number in the year 86 as only 463,000. It is true that Velleius Paterculus says (ii. 15) this war cost the Italians 300,000 men, and the Romans as many more; that is to say, in a period of two years more than double the number killed during the second Punic war; but the exaggeration of this statement has already been shown. The Italian losses of this war do not account for the smallness of the increase in the Roman census. But one explanation is possible, which is that all Italy did not receive at this time the citizenship. Many cities of the allies hesitated, or refused to accept it, as three Hernican towns had done in 306. (Livy, ix. 43.) Brundusium did not have it; for Sylla, on his return from Asia, ἔδωκεν ἀτέλειαν. (App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 79). We are told that Cinna, at the approach of Sylla, asked help from all the cities of Italy, from those *especially* who had lately received the citizenship. (App., *Bell. civ.* i. 76.) His army was therefore divided, not into legions but into cohorts, because it contained many more allies than citizens; and Plutarch says (*Mar.*, 35): "The Italians having been subdued, there was further talk of conceding to them the right of citizenship. "Velleius Paterculus (ii. 17) says: *Victis adflictisque . . . . quam integri universis civitatem dare maluerunt.* We shall see later that Sulpicius sells it to any who will buy, and Carbo, in 84, gave it as a reward. (Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxiv.) Livy's Epitome expressly says of the Marsians, Vestini and Pelignians: *in deditionem accepti*, that is to say, reduced to the condition of subjects; of the Hirpini, he says *domiti*; while the Lucanians under Lamponius were still in arms. After these explanations it will be understood how erroneous must be the estimates founded on the assumption that the figures given by the census at Rome can be used to determine exactly the population of the entire peninsula. Niebuhr says (vol. i. p. 387) in his lectures published in London: "It is a very common but erroneous opinion that the *lex Julia* conferred the privilege of Roman citizens upon the Italians, who in fact never acquired those privileges by any one law, but gained them successively, one by one."

existing, there were created for them eight or ten[1] new tribes, according to the former custom, and these new tribes voted last in the comitia, so that the Roman people retained its position of superior importance. Politically, therefore, the Italians derived but an illusory advantage from this concession; in respect to civil rights, the reign of law being at an end, this new title gave them neither guarantees against oppression nor any more security in their daily lives; their admission to citizenship was, however, one of the greatest events in the history of the Republic, and an immense gain in the matter of equality. Instead of being herself the State, Rome was soon to be only the capital; and furthermore, if certain of the Italians became Quirites, the people of the provinces might become so; already treaties permitted it to Sardinians, Spaniards and Africans; The Germans and the Japodes, people yet too barbarous, are the only ones formally excluded.[2]

Meanwhile the Italians who gathered in their new capital, augmented its noise and crowd and disorder. We have referred to the character of the new elements added to the population of Rome: a few rich men who at once united with the aristocracy, like Asinius Pollio, and all the beggars in Italy, hastening to profit by the gratuitious distributions of food, and to sell their new votes to the highest bidder. Doubtless this war did not pass over Roman society without deeply agitating it: in the lower strata, there was a drawing together of all the oppressed; in the higher, it had been made clear to the nobles that they could no longer monopolize the privileges of citizenship. These two facts were sure to have their results; but, for the moment, the Italian had gained only an empty title, and Rome, only recruits for her mobs, and for the approaching civil war.

[1] Velleius Paterculus (ii. 20) says eight; Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 49) ten. After Sylla, we find only the thirty-five tribes again. (Cf. Cic., *de Leg. agr.*, ii. 7; *Verr.*, i. 5; *Philipp.*, vi.) This suppression was doubtless effected by Cinna, distributing the new citizens among the thirty-five. Italy had at that time but three kinds of cities remaining: *municipia*, colonies and *præfecturæ*. (Cic., *pro Sextio*, 14, 32; *in Pison.*, 22, 51; *Philipp.* iv. 3, 7.)

[2] Cicero, *pro Balbo*, 14 and 18. The Insubrii, Helvetii, and some barbarians of Gaul were also excluded. At the same time that this concession was made to the allies, the tribune Plautius Silvanus (89) obtained the passage of a decree of the popular assembly taking away from the tribunals of the knights the decision in cases of high treason (see p. 585).

CHAPTER XLIII.

RIVALRY OF MARIUS AND SYLLA.

I.—The Dispute for the Command in the War against Mithridates.

SYLLA had gained greatly in importance since the day when, as Marius's quæstor, he had put an end to the Numidian war. With the superstition common to most great men, who believe in their luck—that is to say in their genius—he had devoutly cherished the memory of this first favour of the gods, and all his life he had no other seal than that representing Bocchus delivering up to him Jugurtha.[1] Marius at first took no offence; in the Cimbrian war he accepted Sylla again as his lieutenant without jealousy, and saw him obtain a victory over the Tectosagi. It was not until the year 102, when Marius had the aid of Saturninus and resorted to low popular intrigues to obtain the consulship for the fourth time, that his lieutenant, at last remembering that he himself was the scion of an illustrious patrician house, refused any longer to serve an upstart who was seeking to make of the consulship a royal position, without so much as thanking the nobles for their patience. Sylla now offered his talents and activity to Catulus, and contributed largely to the success at Vercellæ (101). For seven years, however, he remained without further advancement, forgetting, though no longer young, his ambition in his pursuit of pleasure. At the age of forty-four, he had failed in an attempt to obtain the prætorship, and had decided to buy it; after which, in order to become popular for the future, he had given magnificent public games,

[1] *Traditione Jugurthæ semper signavit.* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 4). See p. 565.)

among others a lion-hunt in the circus, with a hundred lions given by Bocchus (93).

The following year, being pro-prætor in Cilicia, he did two things which drew upon him the eyes of the Eastern world, and the applause of the Roman people. With a small army he re-established in Cappadocia Ariobarzanes I., whom Mithridates had driven out, and he received an envoy, whom Arsaces IX., king of the Parthians (called "the Great" by reason of his conquests), had sent to offer his friendship and ask that of Rome, with such haughtiness, that the Parthian, it was said, returned to tell his master that there could be no doubt the Romans were a most powerful nation. This time Marius was irritated; he, too, had been in Asia, but had traversed the Asiatic countries almost unnoticed, and now his former quæstor was returning thence with great fame. Then the incident of Bocchus' votive offerings (p. 565) occurred which changed this silent displeasure into violent enmity, when both generals were compelled to set off in all haste for the Marsian war. Circumstances constantly bringing them together envenomed their hatred. We have spoken of the inefficient conduct of the one, and of the other's brilliant services. All the honour of the war redounded to Sylla, and it was not yet ended—Nola, the Samnites and the Lucanians yet resisting— when the general received the reward of his zeal and of his successes. The people with unanimity gave him the consulship and with it the command of the army against Mithridates (88).

Arsaces IX.[1]

But there was another man who also desired this lucrative command, and, in the hope of obtaining it, disgraced his grey hairs and his past reputation. Marius was at this time sixty-eight years of age, he had recently built himself a house near the Forum, and every day he might be seen in the Campus Martius, sharing in the exercises of the Roman youth, riding and throwing the javelin, to show that age had not impaired his physical powers, and that the illness of which he had complained during the late war, had completely disappeared. But the people

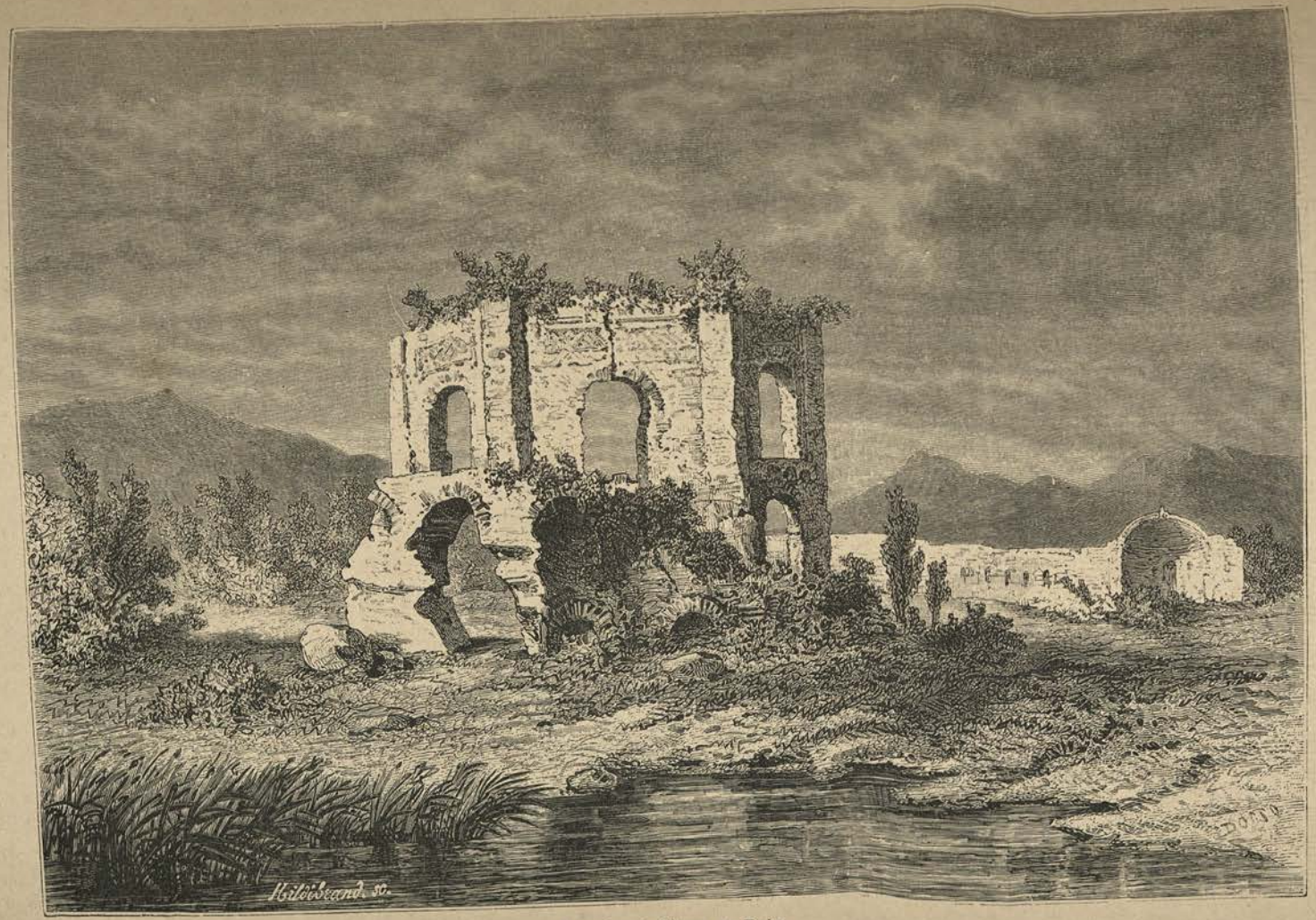
[1] Head of Arsaces IX., from a tetradrachm in the *Cabinet de France*.

looked with contemptuous pity upon this senile ambition; he was advised to return to his elegant villa on the promontory of Misenum, or to the waters of Baiæ; [1] upon this he resorted to other measures.

The new citizens had quickly comprehended the intentions of the senate; their eight votes left them always in the minority, and their nobles complained of being without influence, their poor, of finding buyers for a worthless vote. Marius conceived the idea of employing their discontent to serve his own designs. Between himself and them an alliance was easy, their friendly relations being of early date; he made them an offer to repair the senate's injustice and disperse them among the thirty-five tribes. As he had done thirteen years before, he made use of a tribune, Sulpicius, as the requisite lever.

Sulpicius had distinguished himself in the Marsian war, where he had served as legate under Pompeius Strabo, and in the judgment of Cicero, who had heard him, he and Cotta were the most eminent orators of his time. "Of all whom I have known," says Cicero, "he was the most pathetic, and so to speak, the most tragic. His voice was powerful and sweet; his gestures elegant and graceful, but with the grace suited to the Forum, not that which is requisite for the theatre." [2] The Sulpician *gens*, one of the noblest in Rome, had doubtless, like many patrician races, a plebeian branch to which our tribune belonged, for without it he could not (except by adoption, which is not mentioned) attain to this office which enabled him to agitate the entire Republic. He obtained his election with the support of the nobles whose interests he had served up to that time (88); and one of the consuls of that year, Pompeius Rufus, was his intimate friend. He at first supported the laws, by opposing C. Julius Cæsar's attempt to obtain the consulship before he had served as prætor, and he served the animosities of the financial aristocracy by opposing the proposition to recall those who, under the *Varian* law, had been condemned to exile. Lastly he demanded that any senator in debt to the amount of 2,000 denarii, should forthwith be excluded from the curia.

[1] From the *Voyage pittoresque à Naples et en Sicile*, Paris, 1782, vol. i., 2nd part, p. 214.
[2] Brutus, 55.



Temple of Diana at Baiæ.

This care for the senatorial dignity, and this respect for the laws appeared meritorious, in an age when men no longer respected anything. The year before, a sad instance had been seen of this contempt for gods and men. The Social war had overthrown the fortunes of many, and the disturbances in Asia caused by the invasion of Mithridates had made great havoc in the financial world. Insolvent debtors clamoured for the abolishment of debts, and the prætor Asellio directed the judges to grant them the benefit of the old laws against usury, laws useful perhaps in a small agricultural town, but most objectionable for an empire. The creditors complained loudly, and, a tribune placing himself at their head, they set upon the prætor while he was offering in full costume a sacrifice before the temple of concord, and killed him. Some of the assassins pursued him into the temple of Vesta, where no man was permitted to enter.[2] In vain did the senate promise a reward to anyone who should denounce this murder and double sacrilege.

Concord.[1]

The tribunes Plautius and Papirius profited by the excitement, once more to reorganize the tribunals. A plebiscitum deprived the equestrian order of their exclusive right to fill the judicial offices, decreeing that every year

Vesta and her Temple.[3]

[1] Statue in the Museo Pio-Clementino. The head of the goddess has been replaced by that of the younger Faustina, an irreverent custom, but one much practised during the empire. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl., 760, No. 1858.)

[2] Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 54.

[3] Veiled head of Vesta. C. CASSIUS VEST. The reverse, a round temple, surmounted by a statue of Vesta; within, a curule chair; at the left, an urn; at the right, a tablet, with the letters A and C (*absolvo* and *condemno*). Silver coin of the Cassian family.

the people should appoint the members of the *quæstiones perpetuæ*, each of the thirty-five tribes electing fifteen judges, to be chosen from the three orders, senatorial, equestrian, and simple citizens. It was a bad measure, for the judges were chosen by those amenable to them, but still preferable to giving the judicial offices to a single order, which made that order the master of the State. Varius, the agent of the knights' revenges, being cited before the new judges, was condemned by the operation of his own law.

Meanwhile Sulpicius, who had at first appeared as the friend of the nobles, had become the tool of Marius. No other cause than debt can be assigned for his sudden change. Pursued by his creditors Sulpicius saw no way to escape from them when his term of office should have expired. Marius displayed the treasures of Mithridates before the tribune's eyes; the latter yielded to the temptation; the agreement was concluded, and Sulpicius began to play the part of Saturninus, whom from that time forward he blamed for his slowness and timidity. He surrounded himself with a guard of 600 young men, also ruined by debts and profligacy, whom he called his anti-senate,[1] and was followed moreover by a crowd of Italians who wore concealed weapons; many murders spread terror through the city. To render himself master of the comitia, he proposed the recall of all the partisans of the Italian cause who had been banished by the operation of the *Varian* law, and the redistribution among the thirty-five tribes of the newly made citizens and the freedmen.[2] The consuls Sylla and Pompeius Rufus at once proclaimed the *justitium*, or cessation of all public business. But while they were haranguing the people, Sulpicius presented himself in the Forum and demanded the withdrawal of this proclamation. The consuls refusing, Sulpicius let loose his band; Pompeius fled, after having seen the murder of his son, and Sylla only escaped by taking refuge in the house of Marius. There had as yet been no open rupture between the two, and Marius protected him. But the latter was sufficiently involved in the approaching civil war for men to be surprised that he shrank from one additional crime. As usual, he had not courage to go through with his policy. Presently,

[1] Cic., Brut., 89; Plut., *Mar.* 35; *Sylla*, 8; Vell. Paterc., ii. 18.

[2] Livy. *Epit.*, lxxvii.; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 55; Cic., *ad Herenn*, ii. 28.

this hesitation disappeared. Sylla, however, refuses him credit for this moment of generosity; for in his Memoirs he told how he was seized by the sicarii of the tribune, led to the house of Marius and with a poniard at his throat, forced to withdraw the proclamation.

Sulpicius remaining master in the Forum, passed whatever laws he pleased, and while waiting for the treasures of the king of Pontus, he sold the right of citizenship for ready money.[1] He also seems to have abolished, in the interest of the knights, the *Plautian* law concerning the judiciary, in order to gain them over to his party;[2] at all events they were destined to profit by the proscriptions of Marius, so much so, indeed, as to acquire the appellation of "cut-purses."[3] Appointed by the comitia to take the command against Mithridates, Marius sent two tribunes to the six legions encamped before Nola to assume the authority in his name, but Sylla had been before him. The soldiers, not very eager to make an Asiatic war under a general who pushed discipline to the extreme of cruelty, and pillaged for himself only, stoned the envoys of Marius, and after this decisive conduct Sylla had little difficulty in bringing them back with him to Rome. The officers, however, felt scruples of conscience, and all abandoned him with the exception of one quæstor. Luckily his colleague Pompeius came to join him, and, with the authority of the consulship, to give an aspect of legality to his proceedings.[5] It was the first army for more than two centuries and a half that had marched with standards upon Rome, but, being led by the two consuls, it had the air of hastening to the defence of the laws rather than to attack the country. We note, however, that this dangerous example was set by the chiefs of the aristocratic party.

Sylla's Dream.[4]

[1] If this sarcasm of Plutarch (*Sylla*, 8) is true, Sulpicius could not have found many purchasers for the *jus civitatis*, since earlier laws had given this right to all those Italians who had been able to become citizens.

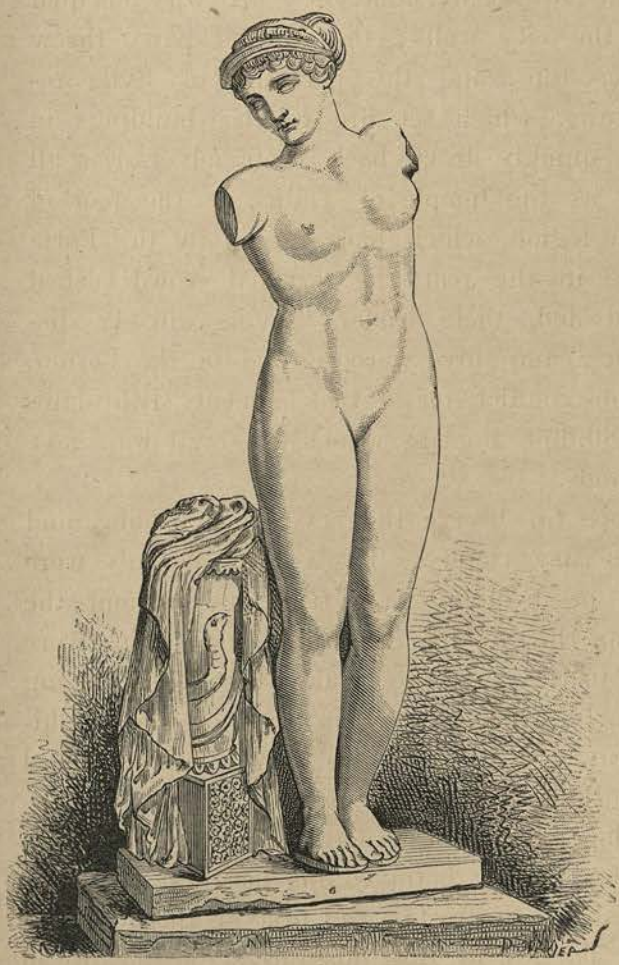
[2] M. Belot, in his learned *Histoire des chevaliers romains* (vol. ii., p. 263), expresses his belief that the Plautian law was not abolished until the year 80, by Sylla.

[3] *Multas pecunias abstulerant ex quo sacculariі appellati.* (Ascon., *ad. Cic., Toy. Cand.*, p. 90, Orelli.)

[4] Sylla lying on the grass; on one side a Victory holding a palm, on the other Diana. Reverse of a silver coin of the Æmilian family.

[5] He himself esteemed this decision on the part of Pompeius as one of the most fortunate events that had ever occurred to him.

Plutarch, who believes in dreams, relates that Sylla began in this enterprise with a certainty of success, because he had seen in a dream a goddess, either Selene, Minerva, or Enyo, the Cappadocian divinity, putting into his hand a thunderbolt with which to smite his enemies. Sylla, very sceptical, though quite as superstitious withal as Plutarch himself, had no need of these supernatural encouragements. As soon as he decided to draw the sword against those who had but a plebiscitum on their side, his success was certain.



The Venus of the Esquiline.[1]

The senate, ruled by Sulpicius, sent two prætors to meet Sylla and forbid him to advance, but they narrowly escaped being torn in pieces. Other deputies came to ask his conditions; these he gave, promising to come no further, and in the presence of the envoys he caused a camp to be marked out. But as soon as they had gone, he despatched a force to seize the Colline and Esquiline gates, while a legion, executing a flank movement around the city, established themselves on the north, at the end of the *pons Sublicius*, in order that the attack might be

[1] Statue discovered in 1874 upon the Esquiline, on the site of the gardens of Ælius Lamia (*Gazette archéol.*, 1877, pl. 23), a work probably of Roman origin, whose heavy forms are widely different from the divine elegance of Praxiteles and his school.

made from both sides simultaneously. At daylight he entered the sacred enclosure of the Roman walls, within which law or liberty existed no longer, but whither no Roman soldiery had ever before penetrated in arms for a fray. Marius had vainly endeavoured to collect an army. Even the slaves, whom he promised to enfranchise, came to him in but small numbers.[1] A very unequal conflict took place near the city walls; the Marian party threw down tiles from the house-tops, and the partisans of Sylla retaliated with lighted arrows, which set fire to the buildings in many places. The latter quickly drove back their adversaries all along the Subura, as far as the temple of Tellus, at the foot of the Esquiline hill; and a legion, which had entered by the Porta Trigemina,[2] now appearing in the rear, the terrified crowd rushed into the side streets and fled, their leaders having already disappeared. In the evening, camp fires were lighted in the Forum. It was a doubly sacrilegious conflict, for at that moment Mithridates in Asia was massacring 80,000 Romans whom the civil war gave up defenceless into his hands.

Sylla caused his troops to observe the severest discipline, and used with moderation this easy victory. Twelve persons only were proscribed, without legal proceedings, it is true, and without the right of appeal. This was the first of these fatal lists which were to take the place of justice, and to make of Rome during the next half century a bloodier arena than that of her amphitheatres. Sulpicius, betrayed by one of his slaves, was captured in the marshes of Laurentum and killed. Sylla freed the slave as a reward for obeying the edict, but ordered him to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock for having betrayed his master. The head of Sulpicius was placed above the rostra, the first of those hideous trophies with which all parties in turn disgraced the theatre of peaceful contests in early Rome. Marius succeeded in making his escape; Sylla had set a price upon his head notwithstanding the opposition of Quintus Scævola, the hereditary enemy of all violence. "You may dispose of my life," said the old man; "at my age the sacrifice is light, but never believe that your power

[1] Plutarch (*Mar.*, 35) says that only three came to him.

[2] It seems probable, at least, that this was the legion posted at the *pons Sublicius*, which entered by the nearest gate, *porta Trigemina*, and attacked the Marians in the rear.

or your soldiers will make me vote for the death of a man who once saved the Republic."[1] On the following day Sylla called together the popular assembly, where at this moment he was sure of finding no opposition. After explaining that he had been compelled by factions to have recourse to arms, he caused the abolition of the laws of Sulpicius, on pretence that they had been passed in spite of religious prohibitions, and in violation of the Hortensian law, he also secured the passage of certain laws in the interests of debtors, the tenor of which we do not now understand.[2] Thus the violence of Marius had forced Sylla to unite himself with the aristocratic faction; the one stooped to the Italians and to the slaves in the interests of his own ambition; the other, to make an end of the seditions of the tribunes, went over to the nobles, and was already meditating the establishment of an oligarchy upon the ruins of all popular liberty. However, when the time of the consular elections arrived Sylla left full liberty to the voters. Two candidates whom he presented, his nephew Nonius and Ser. Sulpicius, were defeated; Cn. Octavius, a partisan of the senate, was elected, and then a friend of Marius, L. Cinna, whom Sylla had endeavoured to secure before the election by a solemn oath of fidelity to himself. The oath was taken in the Capitol, Cinna holding in his hand a stone, and declaring in the presence of a numerous crowd, "If I keep not for Sylla the friendship I promise, I consent to be thrown out from the city as now I throw this stone out of my hand." A strange guarantee in an epoch like this, an oath taken upon the altars of the gods! Sylla soon learned what it was worth; as soon as his term of office had expired the new consul had him accused by a tribune.

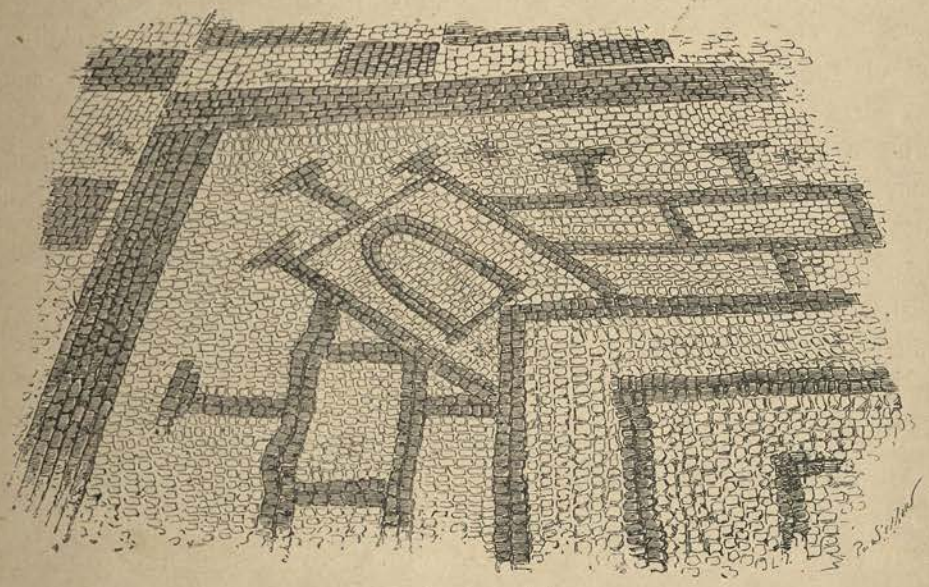
That day doubtless Sylla repented his moderation, and he made up his mind concerning his future reforms; but he was not yet in a position to speak and act as a master; it was needful for him to test the devotion of his troops, and to strengthen himself by that military renown which has so often slain liberty. Leaving, therefore, at Rome the factious consul and the accusing tribune, he departed to join his army and boldly embarked for Greece,[3] feeling certain that, with his victorious legions and the

[1] Vell. Paterc., ii. 19; Vell. Max., III. viii. 5.
[2] Festus, *s.v. Unciaria lex.*
[3] Plut., *Sylla*, 10; Cicero, *Brut.*, 48.

spoils of Asiatic victory, he could at any time re-open his road to Rome (Spring of 87).

II.—Flight and Return of Marius; Proscriptions; his Seventh Consulship (87—6).

Marius fled from his fortunate rival. We may here follow the graphic narrative of Plutarch. "Those that were with him were dispersed as soon as he had escaped out of the city, and



Mosaic at Ostia.[1]

when night came on he hastened to a country house of his, and sent his son to provide necessaries; he went himself to Ostia where his friends had prepared a ship, and hence, not staying for his son, he took with him his son-in-law, Granius, and weighed anchor.

"Young Marius made his preparations, and, the day breaking, was almost discovered by a party of horse; but a farm steward, foreseeing their approach, hid Marius in a cart full of beans, then yoking his team and driving towards the city, passed through those that were in search of him. Thus young Marius escaped to a ship that was bound for Africa. His father, having put

[1] Mosaic of the *thermæ* at Ostia representing the walls and gate of a city.

to sea, passed along the coast of Italy, in no small apprehension of one Geminius, a great man at Terracina, and his enemy; and therefore bade the seamen hold off from that place. They were indeed willing to gratify him, but the wind now blowing in from the sea, they were afraid the ship would not weather out the storm. With difficulty they rounded the promontory of Caieta (*Gaëta*);[1] and Marius being indisposed and sea-sick, as, moreover, they were scant of food, they made for land, and reached the shore near Circeii.

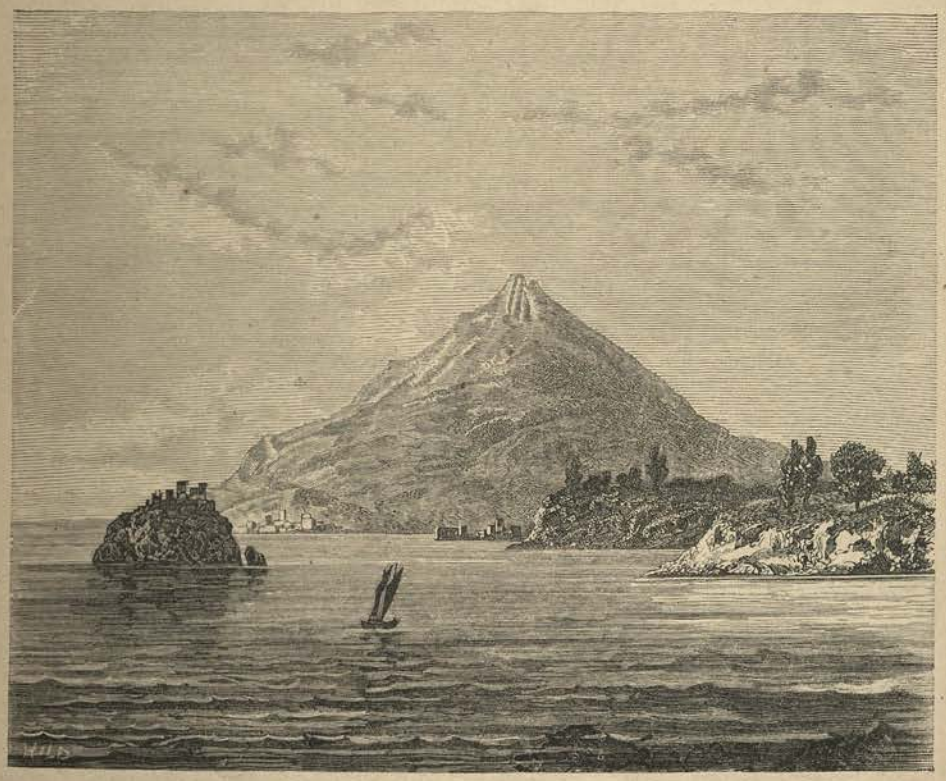
"The storm now increasing they left their ship and wandered up and down without any certain purpose. At length, though late, they lighted upon a few poor shepherds who had nothing to relieve them; but knowing Marius, advised him to depart as soon as might be, for they had seen a party of horse that were gone in search of him. Finding himself in a great strait, especially because those that attended him were not able to go further, being spent with their long fasting, for the present he turned aside out of the road, and hid himself in a thick wood, where he passed the night in great wretchedness. The next day, pinched with hunger, and willing to make use of the little strength he had, he travelled by the sea-side, encouraging his companions not to fall away from him before the fulfilment of his final hopes, for which, in reliance on some old predictions, he professed to be sustaining himself; for it is certain Marius, in his exile and greatest extremities, would often say that he should attain a seventh consulship.

"When Marius and his company were now about twenty furlongs distant from Minturnæ, they espied a troop of horse making up towards them with all speed, and by chance, at the same time, two ships under sail. Accordingly they ran, every one, with what speed and strength they could to the sea, and plunging into it, swam to the ships. Those that were with Granius, reaching one of them, passed over to an island opposite called Ænaria (*Ischia*). Marius himself, who was heavy and unwieldy, was with great pains and difficulty kept above the water by two servants, and put into the other ship. The soldiers were by this time come to the sea-side, and thence called out to the seamen

[1] The illustration representing Gaëta is from an engraving of the *Æneid*, of the Duchess of Devonshire, 1819; vol. ii. pl. 1.

Gaëta.

to put to shore, or else to throw out Marius and then they might go whither they would. Marius besought them with tears to the contrary, and the masters of the ship, inclining first to one, then to the other side, resolved at length to answer the soldiers that they would not give up Marius. As soon as these had ridden off in a rage, the seamen again changing their resolution, came to land, and casting anchor at the mouth of the river Liris, where



Island of Ænaria (*Ischia*).

it overflows and makes a marsh, advised him to land, refresh himself on shore, and take some care of his discomposed body till the wind came fairer; which, said they, will happen at such an hour, when the wind from the sea will calm, and that from the marshes rise. Marius following their advice, did so, and when the seamen had set him on shore, he laid him down in an adjacent field. They, as soon as they had got into the ship, weighed anchor and departed, as thinking it neither honourable to deliver Marius into the hands of those that sought him, nor safe to protect him.

"He, thus deserted by all, lay a good while silently on the shore; at length, collecting himself, he advanced with pain and difficulty, without any path, till, wading through deep bogs and ditches full of water and mud, he came upon the hut of an old man that worked in the fens, and falling at his feet besought him to assist and preserve one who, if he escaped the present danger, would make him returns beyond his expectation. The poor man, whether he had formerly known him, or was then

Terracina.[1]

moved with his superior aspect, told him that if he wanted only rest, his cottage would be convenient, but if he were flying from anybody's search, he would hide him in a more retired place. Marius desiring him to do so, he carried him into the fens, and bade him hide himself in a hollow place by the river side, where he laid upon him a great many reeds and other things that were light and would cover but not oppress him.

[1] Pelasgic remains of a bridge. (Dodwell, *Pelasgic Remains*, pl. 109.)

But within a very short time he was disturbed with a noise and tumult from the cottage, for Geminius had sent several from Terracina in pursuit of him; some of whom happening to come that way frightened and threatened the old man for having entertained and hid an enemy of the Romans. Whereupon Marius arising and stripping himself, plunged into a puddle full of thick muddy water; and even there he could not escape their search, but was pulled out covered with mire and carried away naked

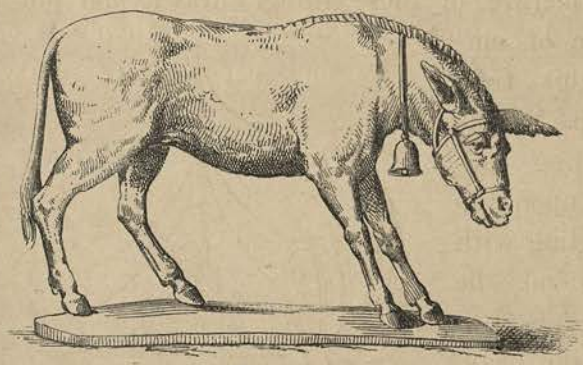
Minturnæ.[1]

to Minturnæ and delivered to the magistrates. For there had been orders sent through all the towns to make public search for Marius, and if they found him, to kill him; however, the magistrates thought convenient to consider a little better of it first, and sent him prisoner to the house of one Fannia.

"This woman was supposed not very well affected towards him upon an old account. But Fannia did not then behave like one that had been injured, but as soon as she saw Marius, remembered nothing less than old affronts, took care of him according to her ability, and comforted him. He made her his returns and told her that he did not despair, for he had met

[1] Chenavard, pl. vi.

with a lucky omen which was thus: when he was brought to Fannia's house, as soon as the gate was opened, an ass came running out to drink at a spring hard by, and gave a bold and encouraging look, first stood still before him, then brayed aloud and pranced by him. From which Marius drew his conclusion and said that the fates designed his safety rather by sea than land, because the ass neglected his dry fodder and turned from it to the water. Having told Fannia this story, he bade the chamber door to be shut, and went to rest.



Bronze Ass.[1]

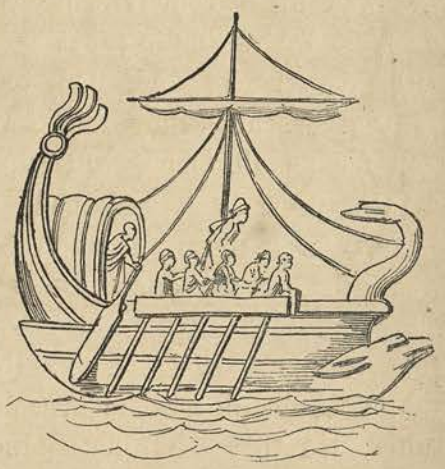
"Meanwhile the magistrates and councillors of Minturnæ consulted together and determined not to delay any longer, but immediately to kill Marius, and when none of their citizens durst undertake the business, a certain soldier, a Gallic or Cimbrian horseman (the story is told both ways) went in to him with his sword drawn.[2] The room itself was not very light, that part especially where he then lay was dark, whence Marius' eyes, they say, seemed to the fellow to dart out flames at him, and a loud voice to say out of the dark: 'Fellow, darest thou kill Caius Marius?' The barbarian hereupon immediately fled, and leaving his sword in the place, rushed out of doors, crying out this: 'I cannot kill Caius Marius.' At which they were all at first astonished, and presently began to feel pity and remorse and anger at themselves for making so unjust and ungrateful a decree against one who had preserved Italy, and whom it was bad enough not to assist. 'Let him go,' said they, 'where he please to banishment, and find his fate somewhere else; we only entreat pardon of the gods for thrusting Marius distressed and deserted out of our city.[3]

[1] From an antique figurine.

[2] This was one of the *servi publici* of the city.

[3] We do not learn that Sylla punished this conduct of the magistrates of Minturnæ. They sheltered themselves behind the story of the Cimbrian, very likely a fiction invented by them to excuse their conduct. They had by this means the appearance of having obeyed the will of

"Impelled by thoughts of this kind, they went in a body into the room and taking him amongst them, conducted him towards the sea-side; on his way to which, though every one was very officious to him, and all made what haste they could, yet a considerable time was likely to be lost. And one Belæus (who afterwards had a picture of these things drawn and put it in a temple at the place of embarkation) having by this time provided him with a ship, Marius went on board and hoisting sail, was by fortune thrown upon the island Ænaria, when meeting with Granius and his other friends, he sailed with them for Africa.[1] But water failing them in the way, they were forced to put in near Eryx in Sicily, where was a Roman quæstor on the watch who all but captured Marius himself, and did kill sixteen of his retinue that went to fetch water. Marius, with all expedition loosing thence, crossed the sea to the island of Meninx, where he first heard the news of his son's escape with Cethegus, and of his going to implore the assistance of Hiempsal, king of Numidia.



Sailing vessel.[1]

"With this news, being somewhat comforted, he ventured to pass from that isle towards Carthage. But he was scarce got ashore with a small retinue, when an officer met him and said: 'Sextilius the governor forbids you, Marius, to set foot in Africa; if you do, he says he will put the decree of the senate in execution and treat you as an enemy to the Romans.' When Marius heard this he wanted words to express his grief and resentment, and for a good while held his peace looking severely upon the messenger. At last Marius answered him with a deep sigh: 'Go tell him that you have seen Caius Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage.'

the gods, shown by the "Panic terror" which had fallen upon the barbarian. Probably they were glad not to destroy a man who was so conspicuously the friend of the Italians.

[1] From Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.*

"In the interim, Hiempsal, king of Numidia, dubious of what he should determine to do, treated young Marius and those that were with him very honourably; but when they had a mind to depart, he still had some pretence or other to detain them, and it was manifest he made these delays upon no good design. However the hard fortune which attended young Marius, who was of a comely aspect, touched one of the king's concubines, and she finding means to convey them away, he escaped with his friends, and fled to his father. As they were going by the sea-side, they saw two scorpions fighting which Marius took for an ill omen, whereupon they immediately went on board a little fisher-boat, and made towards Cercinas, an island not far distant from the continent. They had scarce put off from shore when they espied some horse sent after them by the king with all speed making towards that very place from which they were just retired. And Marius thus escaped a danger, it might be said as great as any he ever incurred." [1]

Meanwhile the aspect of affairs in Italy was changing. The absence of Sylla and the incapacity of Octavius had encouraged Cinna to bring forward again the schemes of Sulpicius. The new citizens gathered about him, and the rich men of the party went so far as to offer him 300 talents.[2] Whether he gave or sold to them his support, is of little consequence; in return for his protection they were to deliver to him the comitia; this was the real bargain. Supported by several tribunes, Cinna proposed to distribute the new citizens among the thirty-five tribes, and with the idea that if he were to cause the recall of Marius the latter might feel bound to be useful to him, he proposed a recall of exiles. On the voting day a majority of the tribunes opposed these measures, and a sanguinary conflict broke out in the Forum between the old citizens and the new, the former under the command of Octavius, the latter of Cinna. The latter, driven from the place, strove to excite the slaves in the city to insurrection. We have already seen Caius Gracchus, and later the friends or leaders of the Italians, resort to this measure. But whether Italians, slaves, or proletarii, in all cases they formed but an untrained and

[1] Plut., *Mar.*, 35–40.

[2] Cic., *de Div.*, i. 2; *de Nat. deor.*, ii. 5; *Philipp.*, xiv. 8; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 64, i. 65.

disorderly band. The old citizens easily remained masters of Rome, and the senate, dealing with a consul as the elder Gracchus had once dealt with a tribune, by decree declared Cinna deprived of his office, and appointed in his place Corn. Merula, the flamen of Jupiter. If we may believe Appian, Cinna was even deprived of his title of citizen.[1] This time 10,000 men had perished. There was much illegal action and much bloodshed; but for more than half a century Rome was to see nothing else.

The Social war was not yet at an end, although after Sylla's victories it had no longer any importance. The Samnites and Lucanians had not yet made their submission; many cities in Campania still held out, and Appius Claudius was blockading Nola, which had a Samnite garrison. Cinna presented himself to the Italians as a victim of his devotion to their cause, and received from them both men and money; he then drew away the troops blockading Nola, accusing the senate of having violated in his person both the rights of the consulship and those of the citizens who had elected him.[3] Numerous levies made throughout Italy[4] increased his army, and the Social war seemed about to recommence. When Marius heard this news he set out in all haste, and soon landed at Telamon in Etruria with about 1,000 Moorish and Numidian horse and foot, and 6,000 slaves, whom he attracted by the promise of liberty. Sertorius counselled Cinna not to

Coin of Cinna.[2]

[1] Cicero soon after this pleaded that it is not lawful to withdraw from any man the *jus civitatis;* but in a time when law was perpetually violated, it is not impossible that the senate should pass such a decree against Cinna; I do not, however, believe it. The Conscript Fathers had not even the right to degrade a magistrate. In the affair of Catiline they decided that Lentulus should abdicate the prætorship, *ut P. Lentulus, quum se prætura abdicasset, tum in custodiam traderetur.* But Cicero very carefully explained to the people that Lentulus, before being led to prison, had resigned his office, *magistratu se abdicavit.* (iii. *Catil.*, 6.) Cæsar also was suspended from office, not displaced. (Suet., *Cæs.*, 16.)

[2] Head of Janus; on the reverse, the prow of a ship; a denarius, X, and the legend, CINA, ROMA.

[3] See in Appian (i. 65) his discourse and his base flatteries of the soldiery.

[4] Velleius Paterculus (ii. 20) exaggerates, as usual, these levies, representing the whole number as thirty legions. Appian (i. 66) says only: *χρήματά τε καὶ στρατιὰν συνετέλουν.*

associate himself with this ambitious and vindictive old man. But Marius appeared so humble that Cinna believed in his disinterestedness, and gave him the title of proconsul with the insignia. Wearing an old toga, with unshaven beard and eyes fixed upon the ground, Marius seemed still weighed down with the sentence of proscription. But as soon as he saw himself among the soldiers all his old activity revived. Four armies, under Marius, Cinna, Sertorius, and Carbo marched upon Rome; the lines of supply were cut, Ostia seized, and cargoes prevented from going up the river, so that the city was threatened with famine. Octavius and Merula made useless preparations for defence, widening the moat, closing the gaps in the walls and covering them with machines, but refusing, although greatly urged, to arm the slaves, being unwilling themselves to do, they said, what they blamed in their adversaries.

The senate had still two armies and two generals in Italy, Metellus Pius, opposing the Samnites in the south, and in the north Cn. Pompeius, who to keep the allies in check had retained his army since his consulship. Sylla had sent him a successor, the consul Pompeius Rufus, whom the soldiers massacred, at the instigation, perhaps, of the other Pompeius, who was called Strabo, or the Squinting.[2] When the civil war broke out this clever man found himself in much embarrassment; his antecedents and his preferences led him towards the senate, yet he feared that the Syllan party, if victorious, would call him to account for the consul's death, and besides, in these troublous times, when no one was sure of the morrow, it seemed to him better to have an army of his own, and to take no risk of losing it by engaging in any decisive action. Therefore he advanced slowly towards Rome, and was in sight of the Colline gate when Cinna and Sertorius attacked it;[3] there was fighting all day without decisive results, and a short time after this Strabo was killed by lightning (87). Metellus was recalled by the senate, who

Pompeius Rufus.[1]

[1] Q. POM. RVFI RVFVS COS. Head of Pompeius Rufus.

[2] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 63; Val. Max., IX. ix. 2. Velleius Paterculus (ii. 21) draws a faithful portrait of this personage: *Ita se dubium mediumque partibus præstitit ut . . . . huc atque illuc unde spes major potentiæ adfulsisset se exercitumque deflecteret.*

[3] Orosius, v. 19; Zonaras, x. 1. The *Epitome*, lxxix., of Livy places this affair later, and upon the Janiculum, which may have been a second engagement.

ordered him to make whatever terms the Samnites required; they exacted citizenship for themselves and their allies, and the restitution of the booty which had been taken from them, the release of the Samnite prisoners, and the extradition of deserters. Metellus refused, but Marius sent word to them that all should be granted, and they came over to his side. Meanwhile Metellus returned to Rome with his troops, but a military tribune opened a gate of the Janiculum to the Marians. Desertions began from the senatorial army, which was discouraged by the delays

Mouth of the Tiber.[1]

of Octavius and his efforts to conduct a civil war in strict accordance with legal forms, and was also decimated by a contagious disorder which carried off more than 20,000 soldiers. The slaves, too, were constantly flocking to the camp of Marius,[2] and at last Metellus, judging the cause lost, fled to Africa, and the senate prepared to negotiate. Cinna was to be recognized as consul on condition that no blood should be shed.[3] Cinna refused

[1] The Devonshire *Virgil*, vol. ii. pl. 3.

[2] Livy, *Epit.*, lxxx.; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 69.

[3] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 69. The fragmentary *Annales* of Granius Licinianus, which have recently been discovered, add a few details, but unimportant.

to take an oath to this effect, but added that for his own part he would never knowingly cause any man's death, and he even advised Octavius to go away. But the deputies saw at his side the stern and scowling Marius, and they returned terrified into the city.

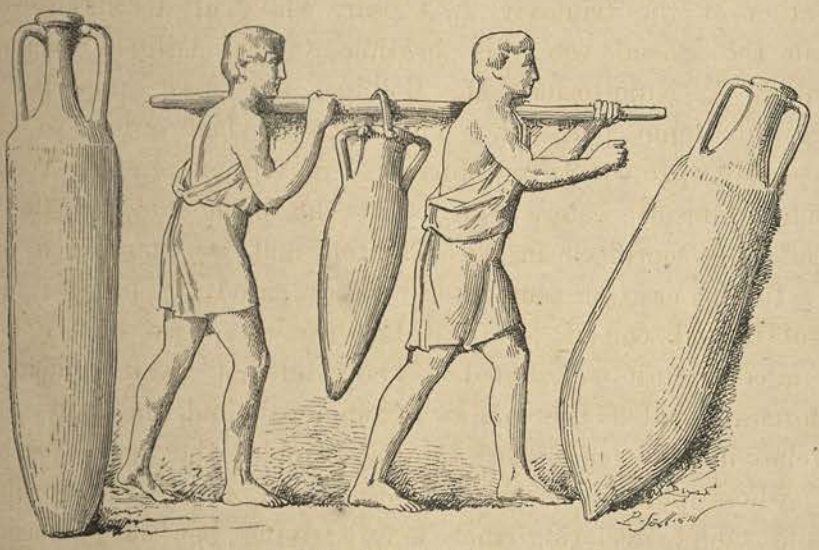
Cinna and Marius soon were at the gates. "A law drove me out," Marius said, "and only a law can permit me to return." The comitia were accordingly summoned, but only three or four tribes had voted when Marius, throwing off the mask, entered, surrounded by the slaves whom he had enfranchised, and a massacre at once commenced. Octavius was killed sitting in his curule chair, and his head was placed above the rostra.[1] P. Crassus, the father of the triumvir, L. Cæsar, who had distinguished himself in the Social war, his brother Caius, Atilius Serranus, P. Lentulus, C. Numitorius, M. Bæbius, the most important personages in Rome, perished. The assassins had orders to kill all not specially protected by Marius. A former prætor, Ancharius, presented himself before Marius at the moment when the latter was offering sacrifices in the Capitol, and was murdered on the spot. In the case of some there was a parody of justice; Merula, the substituted consul, and Catulus, the conqueror of the Cimbri, were cited before a tribunal. They did not await sentence, but the former inhaled the fumes of charcoal, and the latter opened his veins in the temple of Jupiter, "under the very eyes of the god" whose pontiff he was. Beside the corpse of Merula was found a tablet declaring that before dying he had laid aside his insignia of *flamen dialis* according to the ritual. The friends of Catulus had implored Marius for his life, obtaining no other reply than simply the words, "He must die."

The great orator Marcus Antonius had hidden himself in a peasant's hut. The peasant, sending to buy at the tavern more wine than his accustomed supply, excited the curiosity of the innkeeper, who questioned the slave, and hastened to betray the proscribed man; Marius wanted to go and kill his enemy with his own hand, but was restrained, and a tribune with some soldiers was sent to perform the act, but Antonius, by his eloquence,

[1] Plutarch relates (*Mar.*, 42) that a Chaldean amulet was found upon his body. Sylla also wore one. These sceptics were extremely superstitious.

arrested them, persuaded them to lower their swords until the tribune, who had remained outside, was forced to enter and break the spell by cutting down the orator with his own hand. It is said that Marius, when the head of his enemy was brought to him, took it into his hands and addressed it with insults.[2] Cornutus was saved by his slaves. They prepared a funeral pile in front of his house, and placed on it a corpse which they had picked up in the road; as soon as they saw the assassins approaching at a distance they set fire to the pile. The Sicarii believed their work already done, and sought no further.

For five days and nights murder went on without interruption,



Wine Dealer's Sign.[1]

penetrating even to the most sacred places and the very altars of the gods. From Rome the proscriptions extended over all Italy; men were slain in cities and on highways, and it was forbidden, under pain of death, to bury them, the corpses remained where they had fallen until wild beasts or birds of prey had devoured them. The senators had only this privilege, that their severed heads were placed on the rostra. The slaves who had been let

[1] At Pompeii (from a painting).

[2] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 73. Val. Max., iv. 2: . . . . *inter epulas per summam animi ac verborum insolentiam aliquandiu tenuit.* This Antonius was the grandfather of the triumvir. He is one of the interlocutors in Cicero's treatise *de Oratore.*

loose added to murder rapine, theft, and every outrage. Cinna and Sertorius were the first to weary of this butchery. One night, with the troops from Gaul, they surrounded 4,000 of the satellites of Marius, and slew them to a man.[1]

Sylla, meanwhile, at the head of his victorious army, could not be reached; even his wife, Metella, with her children, had escaped. Marius declared him a public enemy, confiscated his property, and abrogated his laws.[2] Rome must still have had great strength, or her opponents have been extremely feeble, for her to be able to exhibit with impunity to the world an army and its general proscribed at the moment that they were fighting their country's enemies! It is plain also that the man who, being situated thus, was willing to postpone his private vengeance until he had satisfied the vengeance of his country against their foes was no ordinary man. Marius felt this, and although with Cinna he had, on the 1st of January, 86, taken possession of the consulship without the formality of an election, he was alarmed at the prospect of being soon obliged to encounter Sylla. In the night he seemed to hear a menacing voice, which said to him: "The lair even of the absent lion is formidable!"[3] To escape from these terrors Marius plunged into debauchery, which hastened his end. Piso related that, walking one evening with himself and some friends, Marius talked to them much of his past life, of the favours and rebuffs that he had received from Fortune, adding that it was not the part of a wise man to trust himself longer to her inconstancy. Saying these words he embraced them, bade them adieu, and returning home he took to bed and never again rose. Pursued even to his last moments by dreams of military glory and visions of battle, he gesticulated in his delirium like one at the head of an army, springing up in bed, commanding a charge, shouting victory. On the seventh day he died, in the seventieth year of his age, and in his seventh consulate (13th of January, 86).

The funeral rites of Marius were worthy of him. Fimbria attempted to immolate as a human sacrifice the pontifex Maximus,

[1] Probably after the death of Marius; Appian, however (*Bell. civ.*, i. 74), places this execution before his seventh consulship.

[2] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 71; Plut., *Mar.*, 43; Livy, *Epit.*, lxxx.; Vell, Paterc., ii. 22.

[3] This is hardly probable, and is doubtless borrowed by Plutarch from Sylla's own memoirs, who naturally wished to represent his enemy dying amidst terrors inspired by himself.

Mucius Scævola, whose only offence had been to seek to mediate between the two parties, and the pontifex fell, but not mortally wounded. Later, when he had in some degree recovered, Fimbria cited him before a tribunal, and on being asked for what crime, he rejoined: "Of not having received my weapon deep enough." Marius had set an example of these human sacrifices in causing L. Cæsar, the ex-censor, to be cut in pieces on the tomb of Varius.[1]

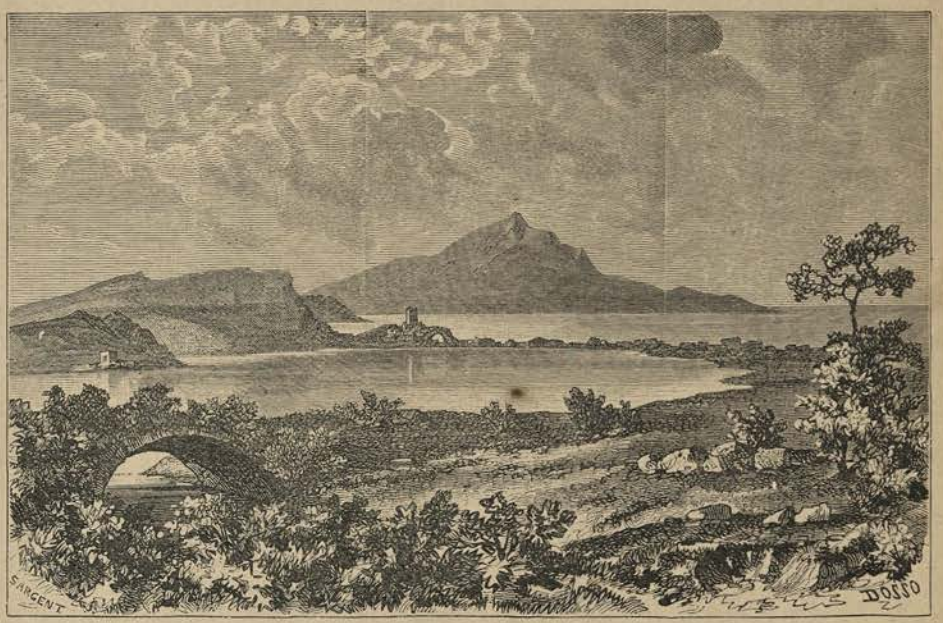
Shall we say that this man did more harm or good to his country? If there had been no Marius, doubtless some other man would have conquered the Cimbri and saved Italy, and this other perhaps would not, when loaded with years and military renown, have thrown Rome into civil war, and inaugurated as a political measure and an act of statecraft the murder of whole classes of citizens. Without Marius, Sylla would not have been what he was. We have paid honour to the Gracchi notwithstanding their faults; we must condemn the sterile ambition of the man who was not even a good partisan.

Cinna, left alone, found himself unequal to his task. A violent but inconsistent person, he never carried out either his moderation or his violence, so that while he irritated by his audacity, he ruined himself by his irresolution. Valerius Flaccus, whom he selected for successor to Marius in the consulate, brought to that office neither great talents nor much reputation. He reduced all debts to one quarter of their amount by permitting copper to be paid instead of silver, an *as* for a denarius, and then set off for Syria to dispute with Sylla the glory and profit of the war against Mithridates. By his own authority Cinna continued himself without election for the two following years, 85 and 84, in the consular office, giving himself for colleague Papirius Carbo,[2] whereby it will be seen that the people never had less share in public affairs than under this so-called "popular government." An apparent calm prevailed; murders had ceased, but still every day apprehension drove out of Italy and to the camp of Sylla those members of the old nobility who were yet left in Rome. The new Quirites distributed among the thirty-five tribes by the operation

[1] Cic., *pro Rosc.*, 12; Val. Max., IX. ii. 2.

[2] *A seipsis consules per biennium creati.* (Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxiii.) During his consulship Papirius Carbo erected, in obedience to a senatus-consultum, an equestrian statue to Marius.

of the Sulpician law, which a decree of the senate confirmed in the year 84, reduced to silence the tribunes, the senate, and the old citizens, and delivered the State over to Cinna, who as consul for four years successively exercised an absolutely royal authority, but knew not how to do anything, not even to prepare a defence against Sylla by fortifying the harbours and rendering them inaccessible to his fleet. Like his patron Marius, Cinna was one of those ambitious men who desire power, but are incapable of using it, and it is noteworthy with what facility their party, formed of all



Tomb, said to be of Marius, near Lake Fusaro.[1]

the lower orders in the State, accepted even an incompetent master.

There was, however, among these self-seekers one man who bestowed some thought upon the public interests. Since the time of Drusus a depreciation of the currency had appeared so convenient a resource that it had been frequently employed, until, Cicero says, "at this time no man knew accurately what he possessed!"[2]

[1] From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*. The *lago di Fusaro* (*Acherusia palus*) is a little salt lake between Cumæ and the promontory of Misenum, communicating by a narrow channel with the sea. The funeral rites of Marius were performed at Rome, not at Misenum, and later we shall see that Sylla caused his rival's tomb to be destroyed, and the ashes it contained to be thrown into the Tiber.

[2] These plated coins were not official counterfeits any more than are our bank-notes, which

In 84 the prætor Marius Gratidianus put a stop to the forced circulation of these plated denarii, and had them exchanged at the public treasury for pieces of true metal.[1] The evil had become so great that the prætor appeared a public benefactor; statues of him were erected, and almost divine honours were paid to him, wax candles and incense being burned before them. These men, who recompensed with such homage a simple municipal measure, will be ready to do much indeed for those who will give them peace and security. As a matter of chronology the empire is still remote, but in the manners of the time we are already very near it.

have no intrinsic value, and they were received like the rest in payment of public dues. But as nothing distinguished them from denarii of real silver, they encouraged counterfeiting, and left men uncertain as to what they really possessed. Accordingly, when in critical moments the State multiplied the plated denarii, the disquietude became general. (Cic., *de Off.*, 20, 80; Cf. De Witte, *Revue numism.*, 1868, p. 181, and Lenormant, *Hist. de la monn.*, i. p. 231.)

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 9, and xxxiv. 6.

Victory (Pompeian painting).

CHAPTER XLIV.

MISERABLE CONDITION OF THE PROVINCES.

I.—A Provincial Governor.

FOR forty years the Roman world had been shaken by the constantly renewed claims of the Roman poor, of the Italians, and of the slaves; it was now to be again agitated by the efforts of the provincials to obtain relief. Each successive war was more formidable. The Gracchi had attacked only the privileges of the nobles; the Italians, only those of Rome; Mithridates threatened the very existence of the empire, for he found its subjects with their patience exhausted.

Elsewhere we have explained the theoretical organization of the provinces, we will now examine the facts.

Appian, referring to the favourable terms granted by Gracchus to the Celtiberians, adds: "But when the senate grants privileges to any people, this condition is always included—that they shall be in force only so long as it shall please the Roman people."[1] In other words, notwithstanding the distinctions which we have set forth, the provincials were subjected to Rome's absolute sway, and to the unlimited authority of the proconsul, the representative of Rome;[2] so that their condition depended much less upon the law than upon the character of the ruler who came among them. If he were intelligent, honest and kindly, the province prospered; if he were hard and grasping, it groaned under the most revolting oppression.

"The cities," wrote Cicero to his brother, the governor of the

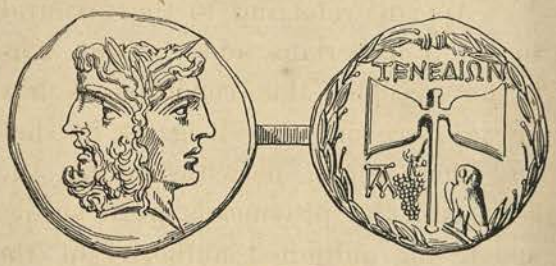
[1] *Δίδωσι δ' ἡ βουλὴ τὰς τοιάσδε δωρεὰς, ἀεὶ προστιθεῖσα, κυρίας ἔσεσθαι μέχρι ἂν αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ.* (App., *Iber.*, 44.)

[2] *Prætor improbus cui nemo intercedere possit.* (Cic., *II in Verr.*, ii. 12.) The condition of the provincials was expressed in these words: *in arbitratu, dicione, potestate, amicitiave populi Romani.* (*Lex Repet.*, v. 1.)

province of Asia, "no longer contract debts. Many are relieved by your care from the enormous burden of those formerly contracted; many cities, almost deserted, owe to you their revival. There are no more seditions and discords among the people. The administration is in the hands of the enlightened class.[1] Mysia is purged of brigands; throughout the province murders are repressed, and peace is established; security again exists upon the high ways and in the fields, and what is more, in the cities and in the temples, where robbery and pillage were formerly practised with the greatest boldness and success. Burdens and tributes are more equally distributed. You are always accessible. The poor and weak are admitted to your tribunal and your house. In a word, nothing in your conduct is severe or cruel. For three years you have governed Asia, and not one of the numerous temptations that a province offers—neither pictures, nor precious furniture, nor rare stuffs, nor the charm of beauty, nor the allurements of wealth—have made you for a moment forget the strictness of your principles." In these eulogies, which were but counsels in disguise, Cicero depicted a governor such as the Roman world had rarely known; elsewhere he shows what these masters of the world really were, by immortalizing the infamy of one of them.

Coin of Halicarnassus.[2]

The prætor Dolabella, on setting out for Cilicia, his province, took with him C. Licinius as lieutenant.[4] At Sicyon in Achæa, Licinius demanded money of the chief magistrate of the city, and upon his refusal, shut him in a cell in which he caused a great



Coin of Tenedos.[3]

[1] *Ut civitates optimatium consiliis administrarentur* (*ad Quint.*, i. 1, 8).

[2] ΑΛΙΚΑ(*ρνασσίων* Ἡρ)ΟΔΟΤΟΣ. Conventional bust of Herodotus upon a bronze of Hadrian, struck at Halicarnassus.

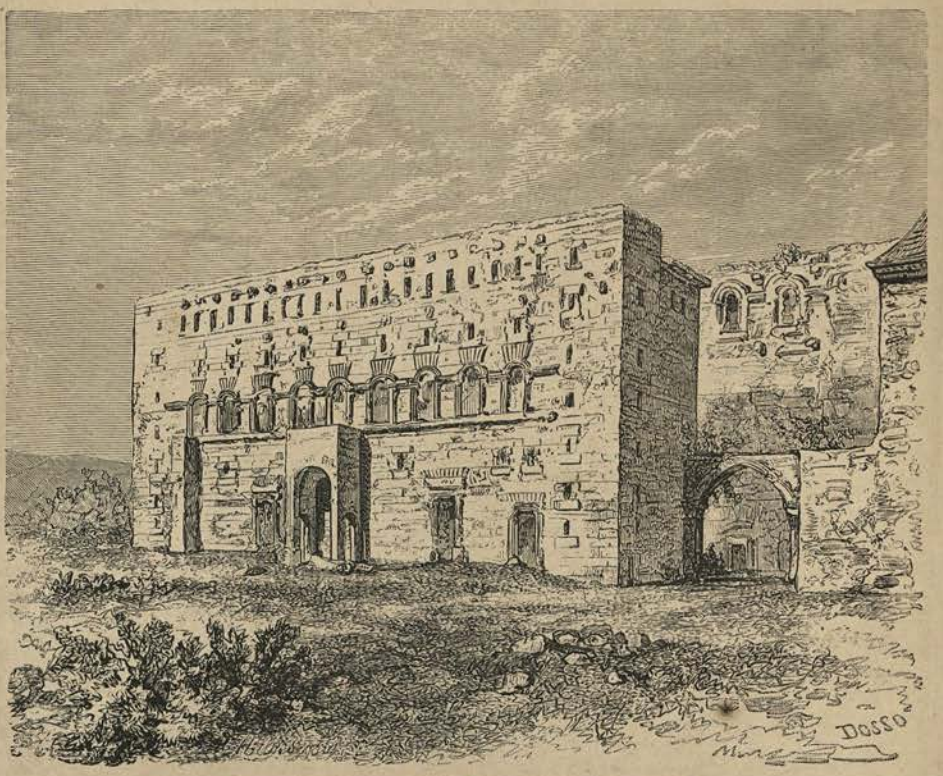
[3] Heads of Jupiter and Juno, united like the double-faced Janus. On the reverse, ΤΕΝΕΔΙΩΝ. Two edged-axe (*bipennis*), bunch of grapes, owl, and monogram, in a laurel wreath. Tetradrachm of Tenedos.

[4] The gentile name of Verres is not known, nor do we know the *gentilitium* of Marius Servilius or Mummius. It is quite probable that these upstarts had none.

fire of green wood to be set burning; he then compensated himself by carrying away the most beautiful statues and pictures that could be found. At Athens, sharing the spoils with his prætor, he plundered the Parthenon; and at Delos, the temple of Apollo; at Chios, at Erythræ, at Halicarnassus, at Tenedos, at Aspendus in Pamphylia, all along

Temple of Perga.[1]

Coin of Lampsacus.[2]



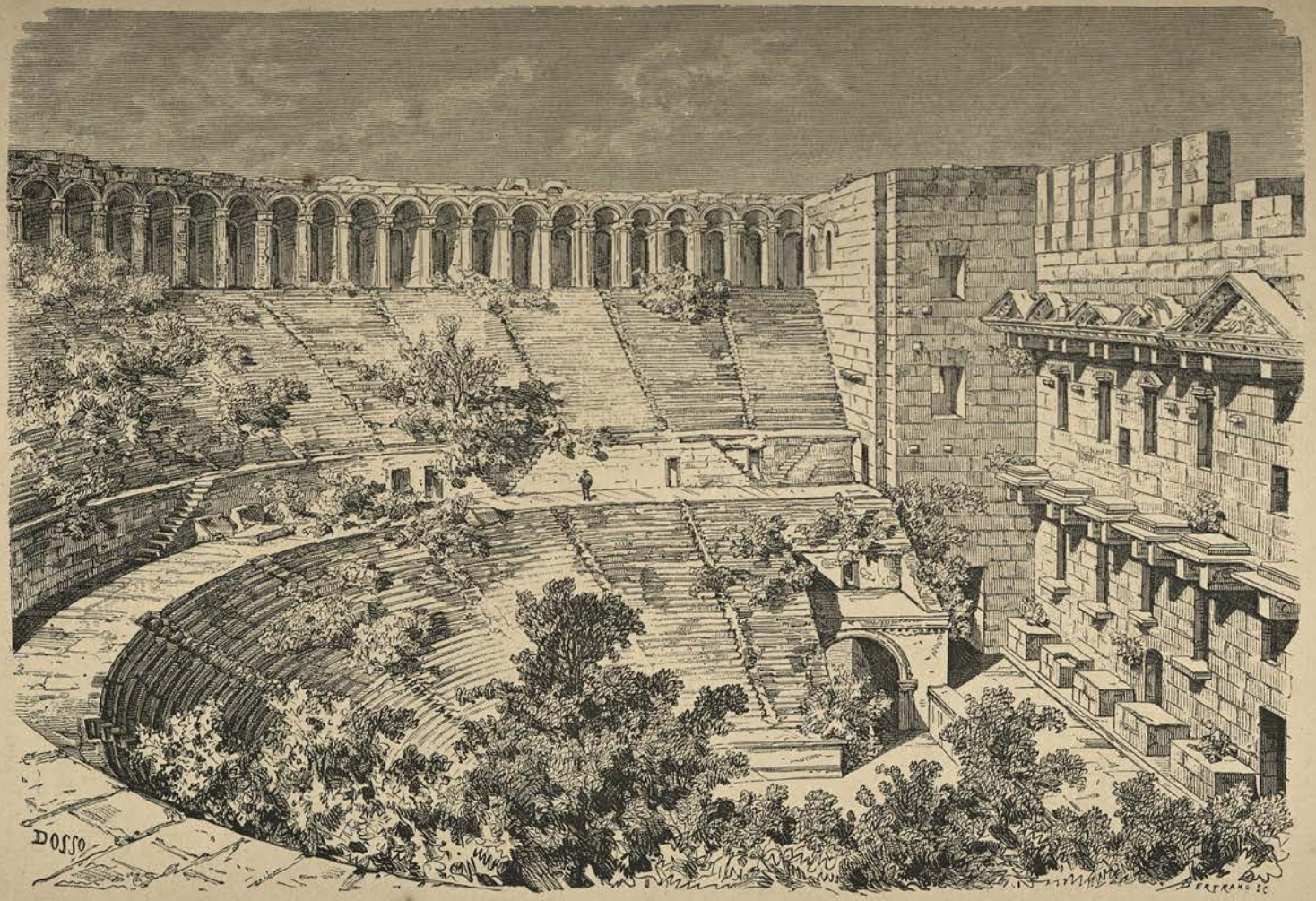
Theatre at Aspendus in Pamphylia (exterior).[3]

his road, the same acts of rapine were perpetrated. Samos

[1] ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞ ΥΠΑΤΟΣ. Temple of Diana of Perga, with her image. Reverse of a silver coin of Trajan.

[2] Head of Pan. Reverse, the Hippocampus, or according to M.M. L. Müller and de Chanot (*Gazette archéol*, 1875, p. 113), Pegasus. Gold stater of Lampsacus.

[3] Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie mineure*, vol. iii. pl. 232 *bis*. The interior of this theatre (next page) is from the same work, pl. 232. [This splendid building, unfortunately so inaccessible that few civilized men have seen it, is by far the best preserved ancient theatre in the world. It is apparently Greek with Roman building added in most parts.—*Ed.*]



The Theatre at Aspendus in Pamphylia (interior).

had a temple venerated by all Asia; he plundered both temple and city, and when the Samians complained to the governor of Asia, they were told that they must address themselves to Rome. At Perga was a statue of Diana entirely covered with gold which he caused to be torn off; the people of Miletus sent one of their best ships to convey him, being one of ten the town owed to Rome; he kept and sold it. At Lampsacus, he sought to do violence to a daughter of the first citizen of the place; her father and brother had the courage to protect the girl, and in the struggle a lictor was killed. Licinius seized this pretext, accused them of an attempt upon his life, cited them before the governor, acting himself as witness and as judge; and both father and son were beheaded in the market-place of Laodicea. As yet, he had no public office, but what was his conduct when Dolabella made him his pro-quæstor! Pamphylia, Lycia and Pisidia were overwhelmed with requisitions for corn, leather bags, sailors' clothing; there was exemption for all who were able to purchase it. Dolabella himself accused his pro-quæstor of having made a profit of 2,567,000 sesterces (about £20,000), which placed him in a position to buy the prætorship.

Invested, in 76, with the urban prætorship, Licinius during a year made merchandize of justice at Rome, and on the expiration of his term of office, obtained the government of Sicily, the province nearest home, and usually most gently treated because it was full of Roman citizens. Many calamities had fallen upon this lovely island, the Punic wars, the Servile wars, the publicans; but nature repaired all losses by her abundant harvests. Ships were constantly coming to Syracuse, Messina and Lilybæum; Agrigentum, rising from the ruin into which she was destined again to fall, was at this time flourishing, and numerous bands of pilgrims were constantly paying homage at the temple of Venus Erycina. Licinius swooped down upon this rich prey.[2] Even before he had landed he summoned an inhabitant of Halæsa to give an account of an inheritance, and the latter did not escape from his hands until he

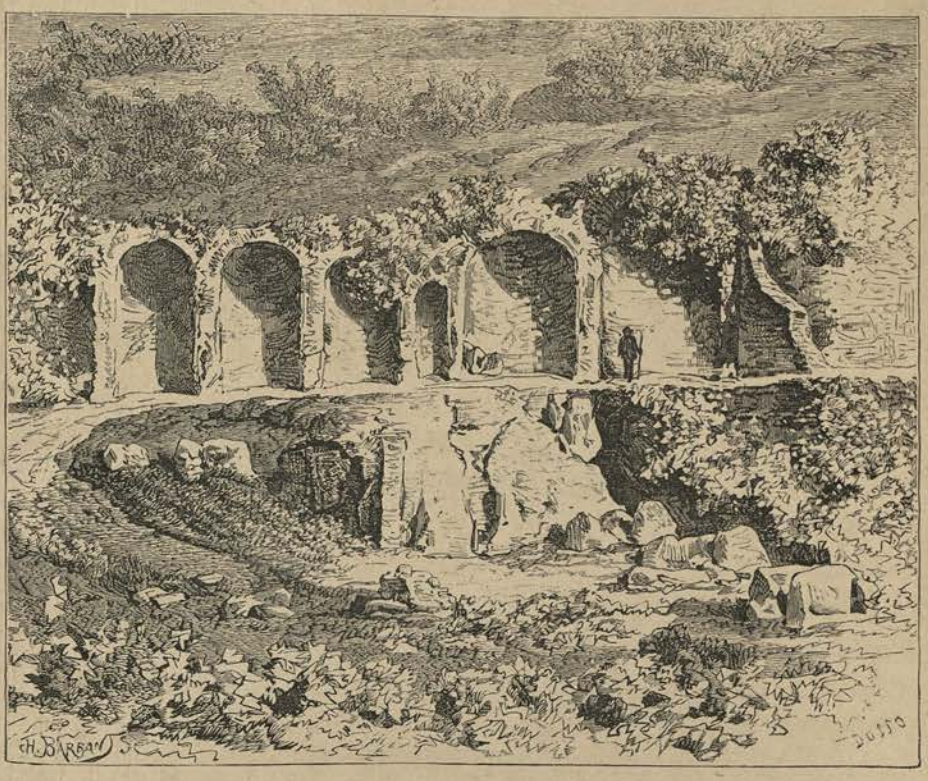
Coin of Halæsa.[1]

[1] ΑΛΑΙΣΑΣ ΑΡΧ. Soldier standing, Reverse of a bronze coin of Halæsa.

[2] [Let the reader remember that a sesterce being about 2d. of our money, 1,000 = £8 17s. 0d but would buy much more, money being scarcer than now.—*Ed.*]

had paid 1,100,000 sesterces, together with his finest horses and all the silver ware and costly carpets that he possessed. Other similar affairs brought him in not less than 40,000,000 sesterces. He sold everything—justice and public offices; in contempt of law, his own edicts, of the religion, lives, fortune, and, above

Coin of Centuripæ.[1]



Remains of ancient baths, near Centuripæ.[2]

all, the endurance of the provincials. During three years, not a senator of the sixty-five cities of Sicily was elected gratuitously.

[1] Head of Ceres or of Proserpine; behind it a fish; the reverse, KENTOPIΠINΩN, under a panther. Bronze coin of Centuripæ.

[2] From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*. Centuripæ, which had become a very wealthy city (Cic., *II in Verr.*, v. 32), suffered much from the exactions of Verres, and still more

Mt. Eryx and Remains of the Temple of Venus (p. 615). (From the Devonshire Virgil.)

Once, for a small profit, he cut off a month and a half from the year, declaring that the first day of the ides of January was the first day of the calends of March. A judge at Centuripæ had decided against his wishes; he annulled the verdict, forbade the judge to sit in the senate of his city, or to appear in public, and debarred him from acting in any matter of business, or prosecuting any person who might attack him. The inhabitants of Agyrium, suffering from too heavy a tax, dared to complain; their deputies narrowly escaped death under the rod, and the city paid to the prætor 400,000 bushels of corn, and 60,000 sesterces. At Ætna his agents extorted from the agricultural labourers besides the tithe, 300,000 bushels; at Leontini and at Herbita, 400,000.[1] Like Darius or Xerxes, he gave cities to his friends; Lipari to a boon companion; Segesta to Tertia, the actress; Herbita to Pippa, the scandal of Syracuse. His exactions depopulated not only the cities but the country also. Upon his arrival, he found in the territory of Leontini eighty-three farms; the third year of his prætorship there remained but thirty-two; at Motye, the number had fallen from 188 to 101; at Herbita from 257 to 120; at Agyrium from 250 to eighty.[2] Throughout the province, more than half the arable ground was deserted; it seemed as if war and pestilence, and all scourges united, had passed over the country. And he, lying in his litter upon Maltese roses, a wreath of flowers upon his head, in the midst of silent maledictions journeyed through the desolated land.[3]

For the provisioning of Rome, he had received from the province 37,000,000 sesterces; the money he kept for himself, and the grain sent to Rome was the result of his robbery. For his household, the province was to furnish him provisions, for which

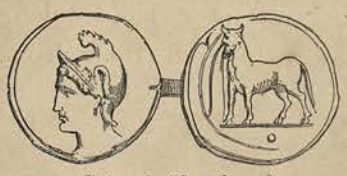
from those of Sextus Pompeius. The city rendered to Augustus services which he recompensed by certain privileges (Cic., *II in Verr.*, ii. 67, 69; iii. 6, 45, 48; iv. 23)); Strab., vi. p. 272; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ii. 8, § 14.

[1] Piso repeated in Macedon, Bœotia, the Chersonese and at Byzantium the exactions of Verres in the matter of corn: *Unus æstimator, unus venditor, tota in provincia, per triennium, frumenti omnis fuisti.* (Cic., *in Pis.*, 35.)

[2] Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 51.

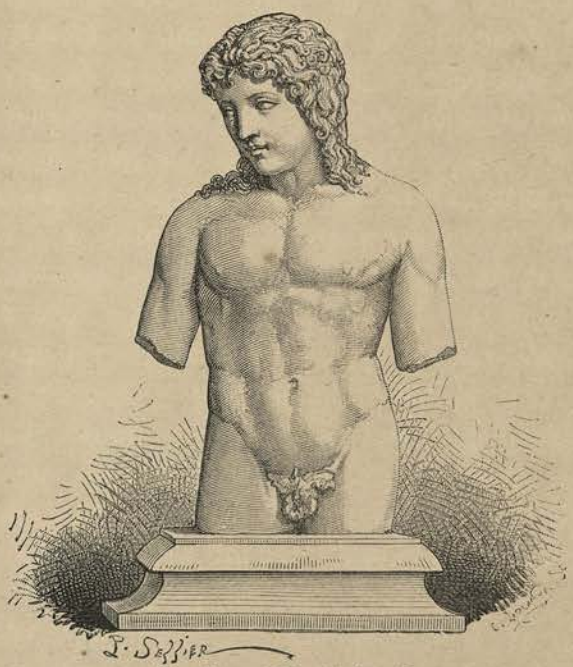
[3] Sicily escaped at this time from one tax which Fonteius laid upon his province, the Narbonensis: this was an import upon wines on entering the cities and on being exported from the province.

the senate paid.[1] Corn was worth two or three sesterces a bushel, he fixed the price at twelve, required five times more than was due to him, then caused the payment to be made him in money, on the scale of value which he had fixed.[2]



Coin of Aluntium.[3]

Another scourge for the provinces was that this Licinius was a dilettante, an antiquary, a lover of curiosities and of all beautiful things. Woe to the host who received him, the house was plundered without scruple! One day he passed near the city of Aluntium situated on a hill-top, which till then had escaped his rapine. He caused his litter to stop at the foot of the hill, had all the silver in the place brought to him, selected what pleased him and carried it away, leaving word for the magistrate to compensate the owners by some trivial payment, which he did not even make good.[4] The King of Syria, Antiochus, came through Sicily on his way to Rome, bearing magnificent gifts destined for the Capitol; the prætor seized upon them; the king complained, protested, but got no more redress



The Eros of the Vatican.[5]

[1] These dues were called *vasarium*. The senate gave Piso 18,000,000 sesterces, *quasi vasarii nomine*. (Cic. *in Pis.*, 35.)

[2] To escape this exaction, the Sicilians asked the favour of being allowed to furnish the corn *gratuitously* which was required for the prætor's household. Cf. Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii, 86.

[3] Head of the Phrygian Venus. The reverse, an ox standing. Bronze coin of Aluntium, town built on a hill on the southern coast of Sicily, now San Marco (?).

[4] Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 43; iv. 23.

[5] Museum Pio-Clementino, No. 250. This statue may be a copy of that which Verres stole from Messina. Cf. Ampère, *Histoire romaine à Rome*, iii. 310.

than the meanest provincial. For eight months numerous goldsmiths were at work in the palace of Hiero, merely in repairing and polishing the objects in gold which the prætor had stolen, and at the custom-house in Syracuse it was registered that, from

Diana the Combatant.[1]

that port alone he had in the course of a few weeks sent out of the island objects valued at 1,200,000 sesterces. Our prætor also was making a collection of antiquities, and not a cup, not a fine vase, above all, not a famous statue, escaped him. Messina had a renowned Eros by Praxiteles; Agrigentum had an urn by

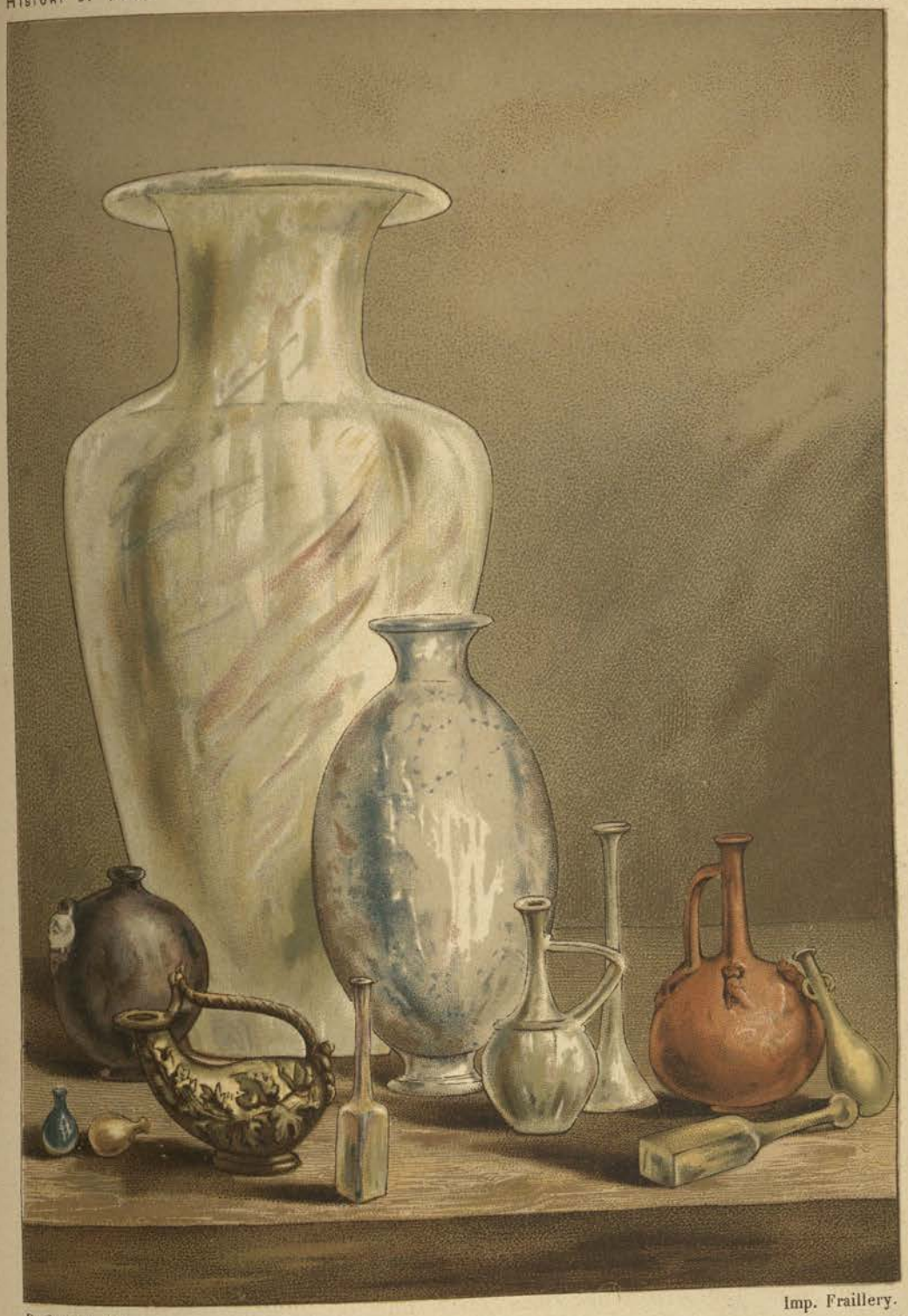
[1] From the museum of the Capitol.

Boethus; he seized them both. The Diana of Segesta and the Ceres of Enna were objects of general devotion; from Rome even, worshippers came to their altars. This made them worthy to stand in his gardens or his gallery, and he carried them off. Almost all the statues that Scipio had sent back from Carthage to the Sicilians were thus a second time stolen from them.

The war against the slaves was at its height; pirates covered the sea; he equipped a fleet, requiring from the cities ships, sailors, arms, and provisions, but only for the purpose of selling the weapons and the supplies, and leaves of absence and exemptions to the sailors; Roman soldiers could be seen, in this most fruitful province, reduced to feed upon the roots of palm-trees. The first time this fleet left the harbour, it was defeated, whereupon the prætor as a strict guardian of the honour of the flag caused all the captains to be put to death. His lictors sold to the relatives of the condemned the privilege of having them killed at one blow. One fact more. A Roman citizen, Gavius, was carrying on business at Syracuse, Verres caused him to be thrown into the Lantumiæ; Gavius made his escape, hastened to Messina, announcing that he was going to Rome to accuse the prætor. The latter, however, again seized him, caused him to be beaten with rods by all the lictors together, then directed a cross to be set up on the shore looking towards Italy—towards liberty and law—and Gavius to be attached to it. Amid these tortures and in all the agony of death, the victim uttered not a groan or a cry, but only repeated: *Civis romanus sum*, while the prætor cried out to him: "There you see Italy! you see your country, your laws and your liberty!" [1]

This Caius Licinius is also known as Verres, and the name is that of the most rapacious extortioner, I admit, that ancient history knows; but as Cicero himself says, the guilty governors were numerous; they went unpunished, and Verres was only possible because a hundred others had preceded him; between them and him the difference was only one of degree. "How many unjust magistrates," cries the orator, "have there been in Asia, in Africa, in Spain, in Gaul, in Sardinia!" Many were accused and

[1] [We must remember that the whole of this statement is the picture drawn by a bitter and eloquent prosecutor.—*Ed.*]



P. Sellier, del. Imp. Fraillery.

VASES

(Glass and Pottery).

a few condemned, like Dolabella and Calidius, each of whom paid a fine of 300,000,000 sesterces. "A mere nothing,' said Calidius, "for which I cannot understand how a prætor can be fairly condemned!" But the larger number of them escaped, for the

Ceres (Vatican).[1]

successor of an accused magistrate usually stifled the complaints of the provincials, arrested the witnesses, requested, threatened, and by a new tyranny kept men silent in respect to the past.[2]

[1] Museo Pio-Clementino, No. 544. [3,000,000 sesterces = about £26,000.—*Ed.*]

[2] See in the *Verrine* orations what hindrances Metellus, who was, after all, an honest man placed in the way of Cicero's investigations. Certainly anyone less active and less eager for a cause which would have great notoriety, would have abandoned this. (*II in Verr.*, i. 10.)

Sometimes the province disarmed itself in advance by cowardly flatteries. Had not Verres statues in all the cities of Sicily, a triumphal arch at Syracuse with the inscription of "saviour," and even equestrian statues at Rome, "erected by the grateful Sicilians!" [1]

II.—Exactions in the Provinces; the Publicans; Usury.

Verres had not exhausted all varieties of exactions. The consul Manius Aquilius sold Phrygia to Mithridates V.[2] For 200 talents another governor, Piso, granted to the people of Apollonia an exemption from paying their debts, then suffered the creditors to do what they could.[3] He sold at a higher price, namely, 300 talents, to king Cotys, the head of a Thracian chief who had come to him as ambassador. We find that he took only 100 talents from Achæa in the form of personal gifts. He, however, indemnified himself by a thousand different industrial enterprises. In his army all grades, even to that of centurion, were sold to the highest bidder. Flaccus caused the cities of Asia to pay for a fleet which did not exist; Fonteius converted to his own use a tax upon the wines of Narbonensis,[5] and Æmilius Scaurus, by threatening an Arab prince with war,

A Centurion.[4]

[1] Piso also caused statues to be erected to himself in his provinces. Cf. *in Pis.*, 38. The Sicilians requested the senate to forbid them to erect statues in honour of any governor until after his term of office should have expired.

[2] App., *Bell Mithr.*, 57.

[3] Cic., *in Pis.*, 35.

[4] From a sepulchural bas-relief which bears this inscription: QUINTUS PUBLIUS FESTUS CENTUR. LEG. XI. He holds his stick in the right hand, wears leggings, and is decorated with seven *phaleræ* (medals decreed by the military chiefs). Of these decorations three are placed in front of the breast and two on each side. Only half of the latter are seen in the illustration. (Cf. Rich, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 137.

[5] Cf. *pro Flacco*, and *pro Fonteio*. Piso imposed all forms of taxes. *Singulis rebus quæcumque venirent certo portorio imposito* (*in Pis.*, 36). Observe the summary which Cicero gives

wrested from him 300 talents.[1] These exactions were of old date. In the time of the war with Perseus, we saw consuls and prætors rival each other in pillaging allied cities, and selling their inhabitants at auction, as was done at Coroneia, at Haliartus, at Thebes and at Chalcis. Sterile Attica was condemned to furnish 100,000 bushels of corn. Abdera gave 50,000, and besides, 100,000 denarii; then, when the city ventured to complain to the senate, Hostilius gave it up to pillage, beheaded the principal men, and sold the entire population. Another prætor, Lucretius, yet more guilty, was accused at Rome. "It would be unjust," said his friends, "to entertain complaints against a magistrate absent in the service of the Republic;" and the affair was adjourned. Lucretius, however, at the time was near Antium, employed in decorating his villa with the product of his rapine, and turning the course of a river to lead it through his park. Another time he was less fortunate; he was condemned to pay a fine of 1,000,000 *ases;* then the senate gave a few thousand *ases* to the envoys of the cities; and so the matter ended.[3]

Coin of the *gens* Fonteia.[2]

When Cicero took possession of his government of Cilicia, which Appius had just quitted, he found on all sides a weeping and groaning population: "It would seem that not a man, but a ferocious beast had been there." However, from this ruined province, desolated past hope of recovery, Cicero himself was able in twelve months to extract, *salvis legibus*, the sum of 2,200,000 sesterces.[4]

By what the most honest of men could do without infringing the laws, and by what he excuses, we may judge what the subject

us, of this governor's administration: *Achaia exhausta, Thessalia vexata, laceratæ Athenæ, Dyrrachium et Apollonia exinanita, Ambracia direpta, Parthini et Bulienses illusi, Epirus excisa, Locri, Phocii, Bœotii exusti, Acarnania, Amphilochia, Perræbia, Athamanumque gens vendita, Macedonia condonata barbaris, Ætolia amissa, Dolopes finitimique montani oppidis atque agris exterminati (in Pis.,* 40). He repeats these accusations in the *pro Domo.*

[1] Jos., *Ant. Jud.,* xiv. 5, § 1.

[2] Laurelled and beardless head of Janus. On the reverse, C. FONT. Galley with rowers. Silver coin of the Fonteian family.

[3] We have spoken above (p. 223) of other kinds of exaction which weighed heavily upon the allies.

[4] *Ad Fam.,* v. 20. In this letter mention is made of "gratifications," which we to-day call by another name. Nevertheless, Cicero had taken for his model the upright Mucius Scævola.

peoples suffered: "He asks for money from the chief man of Sicyon; I do not blame him for this, others have done the same. The magistrate refusing it was punished; it is odious, but it is not without example.[1] You have caused it to be known throughout your province that you could be bought, and those have borne sway over you who have paid you best; be it so, I do not bring this up against you; perhaps another in your place would have done the same.[2] You have condemned at Syracuse a man who was at Rome; but I do not stop at this, for one may receive a declaration against an absent person; no law in the province prohibits it."[3] Elsewhere Cicero accepts without too much complaint the exactions of the prætors under the pretence of corn due, "a practice," he says, "very common in Spain and in Asia, blamable doubtless, but not punishable." However, by dint of enumerating these crimes, and hearing the consul repeat that this is no new thing, that others have done the same, and worse even,[4] he becomes excited, and finds noble words like these: "Our provinces groan, the free peoples complain, the kings cry out against our avidity and injustice. To the far distant shores of the ocean, there is no place so obscure, so concealed, that the lawlessness of our citizens has not penetrated. It is no longer the strength of other nations, their arms or their wars that weigh upon us, it is their mourning, their tears, their groans. . . . Let it be again said that this man has done the same that others have done; doubtless examples are not lacking; but, if wicked doers rest upon each other to escape justice, then I say that in the end the Republic also will be destroyed."

The governors robbed on a large scale, and left to their subalterns many lesser profits. One gave up to his lieutenants the choice of winter quarters, exemption from which the cities paid for in large sums;[5] another gave to his tribunes the duty of

[1] *II in Verr.*, i. 17.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 32.

[3] *II in Verr.*, ii. 41. Such was the uncertainty of the rules, and so great was the license left to the governors, that their edicts varied, even on a question of such importance as this: are the Greeks to be judged by their own laws or those of Rome?

[4] *Fecisse alios . . . . jecerunt alii alia quam multa.* (*II in Verr.*, iii. 88.)

[5] *Magnas pecunias dabant. . . .* Cyprus gave annually for this alone 200 Attic talents. (Cic., *ad Att.*, v. 21.)

repairing the roads, which were not repaired. There was no one, down to the prætor's freedmen, and even his slaves, whose favour was not bought, and bought at a high price. After Verres had thrown the Syracusan captains into prison, Sestius the lictor was there putting a price on sympathy, a tariff on every tear. To enter, a relative must pay so much; to bring food to the prisoner, so much more. No one refused. "What will you pay me to behead your son at one blow? What for his body to bury, instead of throwing it to the dogs?"

And we have said nothing of insolence harder to be borne than real injuries. A quæstor, passing through Athens, desired to be initiated into the Mysteries; and as they were just over for the year, ordered them to be repeated. Once the Athenians had yielded to a similar desire, to initiate Demetrius Poliorcetes. But he was a successor of Alexander, with whom the gods themselves seemed obliged to reckon. The Greeks were disgusted at the audacity of this Roman, who, quæstor though he was, seemed, to these inheritors of the greatest name on earth, a person of little importance. He revenged himself by showing his contempt for "these miserable Greeks, idle and voluble," and for "the sterile wisdom of their schools." The matter was a trifle, but must have offended men of such historic pride more than a mere requisition of corn.[1]

After the governor and his officers came the publicans, a second tyranny severer than the first, for it reached to every individual even the most obscure.[2]

It would have been fortunate had these two tyrannies been at variance; but alas! they almost always played into each others hands. When, by some miracle, the publicans exacted no more than their due, a rapacious governor would urge them on, associating them in his own plunderings for the purpose of giving himself a better chance of impunity.[3] If the governor was

[1] Livy, xxxi. 14.

[2] See the frightful situation of Asia during the last war against Mithridates, a prey to unspeakable and incredible miseries; so plundered and enslaved by tax-farmers and usurers that private people were compelled to sell their sons in the flower of their youth and their daughters in their virginity, and the States publicly to sell their consecrated gifts, pictures and statues. (Plut., *Lucull.*, 20.)

[3] See the agreement between Verres and the farmers of the customs and tithes, in the Verrine orations. (*II in Verr.*, ii. 70, 75.)

honest, it was the publicans, especially since they were judges at Rome, who threatened and incited him to plunder. Integrity became a crime. In the year 92 Rutilius, the Stoic, an ex-consul, and one of the most upright citizens of the time, ventured to undertake the defence of the province of Asia against the publicans, he having been legate there under Mucius Scævola, whose administration gave rise to the yearly festival *Mucia*, commemorating their integrity and wisdom. The publicans instituted a suit against him for peculation on his retiring from office, and were at once accusers, witnesses and judges. In spite of Mucius Scævola, and Crassus and Antonius, and every honest citizen in the State, he was condemned, and withdrew into the very province he was accused of having plundered. Received with honour wherever he went, he passed the rest of his life at Smyrna, occupied in literary pursuits.[1]

Cicero, always friendly to the publicans, said himself: "If we do not resist them, we must see the destruction of those whom we ought to defend." And elsewhere, "To content the publicans without ruining the allies requires an absolutely divine power." [2]

When the inhabitants of the provinces had responded to the demands of the governors, of their agents and of the publicans, when they had paid all the taxes, furnished all the compulsory labour, satisfied all the requisitions,[3] whose price was not always paid, they had not yet satiated the avarice of Rome; they were further obliged to receive with great and costly honours the Roman nobles who might chance to pass through their cities: to keep awake by frequent gifts the zeal of their patrons, and foreseeing the results of elections, to gain over in advance the future magistrate.

[1] Val. Max., VI. iv. 4; Livy, *Epit.*, lxix., and Vell. Paterc., ii. 13. The illustration on page 629, is taken from de Laborde's *Voyage en Orient*, pl. 8A.

[2] Cicero, *ad Quint.*, i. 1, 11. Livy (xlv. 18) speaks in the same way: "Wherever a tax-contractor was employed, either the rights of the people were a nonentity or the freedom of the allies destroyed." Even in Italy it became necessary about the year 60 to suppress the *portorium*, or tax on the importation by sea of provisions destined for sale, *portoria venalium*. It was abandoned not so much on account of the tax itself, as to put an end to the exactions of the publicans. (Dion Cassius, xxxvii. 51; Cic., *at Att.*, ii. 16.) In the provinces the *portorium* was levied for the advantage of Rom except in the territory of *civitates fœderatæ* or *immunes*.

[3] The State furnished horses and tents, but the cities must supply lodgings, also transportation for lieutenants suddenly summoned to head-quarters, and for senators on "a free legation," etc. Cf. Livy xlii. 1; and Cicero, *de Leg.*, iii. 8, § 18

Smyrna.

In most modern States, a public office gives a salary; at Rome it involved expenses which were sometimes very great. In the public entertainments which their positions required them to furnish, the magistrates, through vanity and ambition, vied in the display of extravagance. As the share contributed by the State was but trivial, this display would have ruined them if they had not made the subjects pay for it. Thus the ædiles were future proconsuls, whose favour men were eager to secure, by sending

Combat between Genii and Wild Beasts.[1]

them from the remotest provinces rich or curious presents for their public entertainments. To these gifts, a governor desirous that his friend the ædile should make a fine display, would sometimes add some provincials: Piso sent to Clodius six hundred, who fought in the amphitheatre with the lions and panthers.

Under pretext of a vow made during the battle a general on his return to Rome frequently constructed a temple, for the sake of putting his name on it; or gave to the people some public show, by aid of the "voluntary offerings" of the conquered people. It was in vain that the senate limited the expense allowable on such occassions, or issued decrees to protect the provincials from the demands of their late governors, the custom remained, and these contributions were added as a regular impost to the tribute from certain provinces. Each year the province of Asia expended, under this head only, the sum of 200,000 sesterces.

An evil still greater, and more constant, was the usury which devoured the provincial—an evil all the more formidable because the usurers were Roman citizens who took in pawn, from this man, the products of his fields, from that, a mortgage upon his property. Was it not needful to help the provincial to pay the

[1] Details from a vase in the form of a cup without handles, the bas-reliefs carved in the material, and the figures full of life and action. This work is of the Roman period but the bronze is not very well preserved. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3144 of the catalogue.)

taxes due to the State and the gratuities demanded by the governor and his subordinates? In the Narbonensis not a piece of money changed hands without the intervention of a Roman citizen; not a silver coin was in circulation that was not entered on the books of the Italian merchants who filled the provinces; all business passed through their hands, and usury was so familiar to them that we cannot wonder if, when the legal rate was 12 per cent., with commissions that doubled it, private rates of interest should go as high—even when the creditor was Brutus—as 48 per cent.[1] The Allobroges owed to Fonteius, or to persons representing him, 30,000,000 sesterces; we have seen Apollonia give 200 talents to escape payments of debts. Almost all the cities of Caria owed money to a certain Cluvius of Puteoli; and Salamis in Cyprus was debtor to Scaptius, an agent of Brutus.[2] This Scaptius, to obtain payment, asked from the governor the command of a body of cavalry, shut up the senate of Salamis in their senate-house, and kept them there so long that five senators died of hunger. And of what consequence after all was a senator of an allied city, or the most eminent provincial, compared with even the lowest and poorest citizen of Rome? All the taxes of Cappadocia, plus thirty-three talents a month, were not enough to pay the interest on the money that Pompey had lent to Ariobarzanes, and the Asiatic prince had other creditors, Brutus especially, who pressed him pitilessly and wrung from him 100 talents in a year. "So," says Cicero, "there was no poorer king nor more miserable kingdom." Nicomedes II. of Bithynia was not less involved; to obtain money from him, his creditors—who were all Roman knights, envoys of the senate, generals, and the like—forced him to ravage Paphlagonia, at the risk of bringing upon himself a terrible war. A few years earlier in the time of the Cimbrian invasion Marius had called upon him for auxiliaries; the king made reply: "Bithynia is deserted and ruined,

[1] Livy, xl. 44; Cic., *ad Quint.*, i. 1, 9; Cic., *pro Fonteio*, 4; Cic., *ad Atticum*, vi. 1; Cicero himself permitted much more to be demanded and confirmed the most usurious agreements when the debtor did not pay on the day fixed.

[2] Sardis owed great sums to Anneius. (Cic., *ad Fam.*, xiii. 53.) Nicæa to Pinnius (*ibid* xii. 61), Parium to another person, etc. The Gabinian law forbade the allies to borrow money at Rome, but it was easy to obtain a senatus-consultum dispensing with the operation of the law. Cf. Cic., *ad Att.*, vi. 1.

My subjects? ask the publicans who have reduced them to slavery, and carried them hither and thither through your provinces." [1] "Where," exclaims Cicero, "is the wealth of the nations who are now reduced to indigence? What need is there to ask, when you may see Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicus, Miletus, Chios, Samos, all Asia, Achæa, Greece and Sicily, collected in the villas which cover our territory?" [2]

Coin of Cyzicus.[3]

And there indeed they were, for, after having taken the gold of these cities for their own pleasures and for their royal luxury of living, these Romans, who had gone so far as to deify plunder, *Jupiter Prædator*, desired statues for their gardens, pictures for their porticos, books[4] and all rare and precious objects for their libraries and museums. Thus it was that the nations saw their trophies, their historic monuments,[5] the images of their heroes and their gods carried off to Rome and to the Latin villas. In the presence of monuments of the national renown, before statues erected in public places to recall the memory of some act of heroism, men become animated for devotion and self-sacrifice. When they laid covetous hands upon these sacred objects, the Romans demoralized the nations as much as by massacres upon the battlefield. In their cities, now despoiled of the illustrious dead, the vanquished were like men deprived of family traditions, without a past and without a future; and those among them who felt conscious of talents and of ambition, deserted these desolated homes to seek applause and fortune on a grander stage. The Achæan Polybius and the African Terence both came to live in Rome.

[1] *Ad Att.*, vi. 1, 3 sq.; 2, 7; 3, 5; Appian., *Bell. Mithr.* 11; Diod., xxxvi. 3.

[2] *Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud in exteras gentes, propter eorum, quos ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misimus, libidines et injurias.* (Cic., *de Imperio Cn. Pompeii*, 22.)

[3] Proserpine crowned with wheat. On the reverse, KYZI. Lions' head and bunch of grapes. Tetradachm of Cyzicus.

[4] Paulus Æmilius brought home all the books of Perseus (Plut., *in Æmil.*); Sylla, the library of Apellicon of Teos (*id. Sylla*, 26; Strab., xiii. 54), where were preserved the only manuscripts in existence of many works of Aristotle and Theophrastus.

[5] Paulus Æmilius had forgotten to carry off from Dion the statues that Alexander had erected there in memory of his "companions" slain at the passage of the Granicus; Metellus took them.

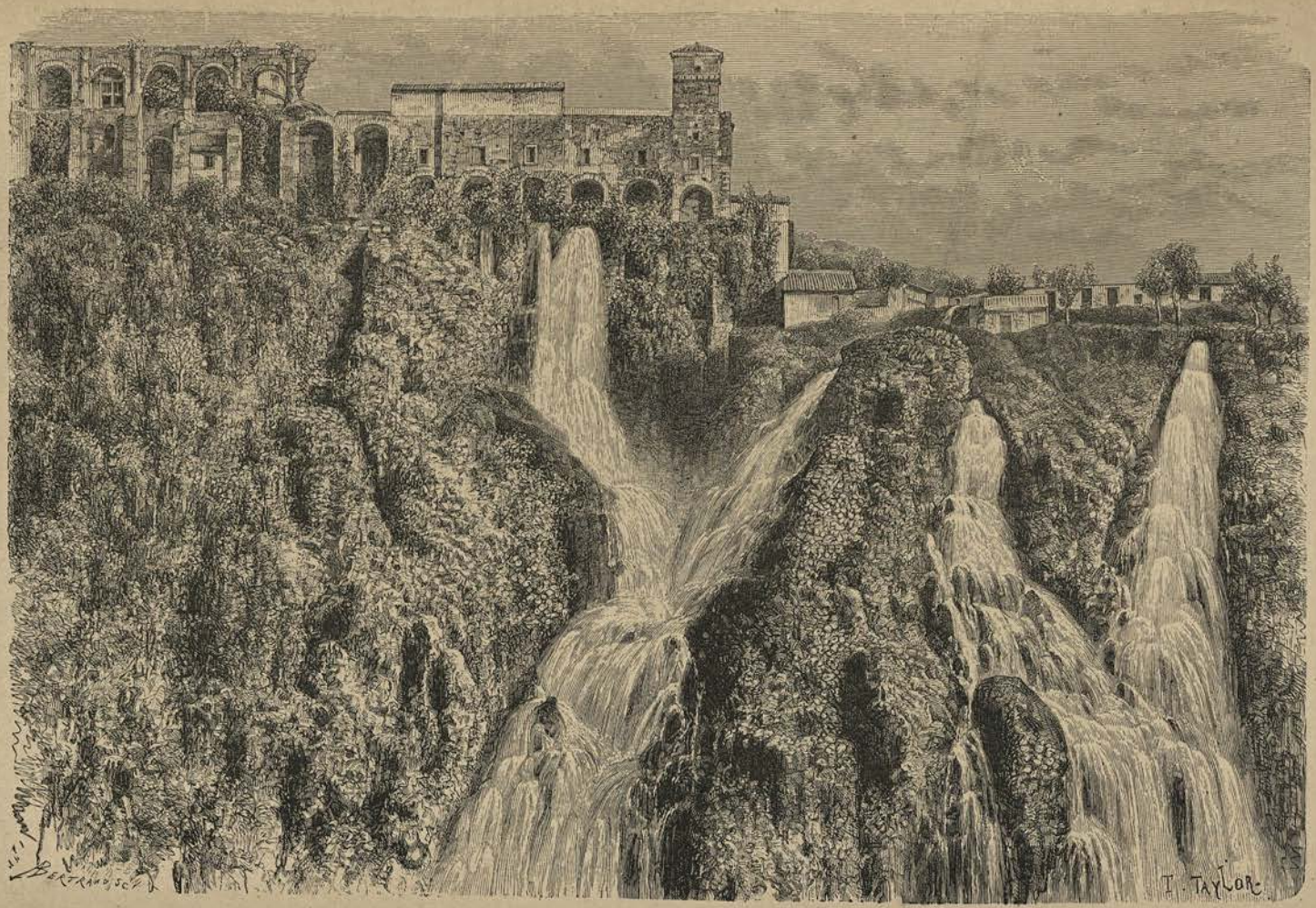
III.—Powerlessness of the Law to Protect the Provincials.

Laws for the protection of provincials were not wanting. The repression of exactions had even been the object of a revolution in the judiciary at Rome, where originally the subjects had no recourse except to the senate, which often stifled the affair. In 149, the tribune Calpurnius Piso had obtained the establishment of a permanent tribunal invested with the right, till then exercised by the people only, of judging those accused of extortion.[1] The allies, not being allowed to bring a complaint themselves, were obliged to find a citizen to speak for them. If the cause promised well, if the accused had enemies, if there were some young noble who wanted to draw public attention to himself, they soon found a patron. Then the action began, and the Forum rang with the indignant accents of the orator who could not find anger enough for the misconduct of the accused, or tears enough for the sufferings of the provincials. The offender was condemned, especially if at the moment his condemnation was useful to a powerful personage or an important party; but before the sentence was pronounced, this man who had played with the life, the honour and the fortune of the allies, quitted Rome for the delicious groves of Tibur,[2] or of Præneste, leaving to the complainants a few sesterces of indemnity.[3] This sentence was going into exile, the severest penalty that could be inflicted on a Roman citizen; Roman justice was then satisfied, and the deputies had nothing more to do but to return home, and reckon with those who had sent them the costs of their long and useless embassy. And they were fortunate if they did not some day see their

[1] See page 318, and in vol. iii., Cæsar's law *de pecuniis repetundis*, which remained under the empire the basis of legislation in this matter.

[2] Tibur stands eight or nine hundred feet above the sea, and is twenty miles from Rome, on a spur of Monte Ripoli joining Monte Castillo, and barring the valley of the Anio. Switzerland has finer cascades, but they are not, like these, lighted up by an Italian sun and covered by admirable works of art, in regions full of historic and poetic interest. (See in vol. i. page cxxxi., the temple of Vesta, Sibyl, or Hercules at Tivoli.)

[3] There was at first simple restitution; the Servilian law required it double (*frag. legis Serv.*, c. 18): the Cornelian quadruple. (Asconius *in* Cic., *in Verr.*, i. 17.) Under the empire the ordinary penalty was banishment. (*Dig.*, XXVIII. ii. 7 § 3; Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 28.)



Tibur—Cascades of Tivoli.

eloquent defender, having forgotten his indignation, come to rule over them with the same rapacity and repeat the same acts of injustice!

The younger Gracchus had obtained a decree that the governments of provinces should be distributed by lot;[1] he hoped that thus the public interest alone, not that of the individual, would henceforth be consulted. But for the Pisos and Gabinii all provinces were alike, because in all there was material for plunder.

Bust of Alexander the Great.[2] (From British Museum.)

Then another plan was tried. The *Pompeian* law of the year 52 established that no one should obtain a province until he was five years out of office. The civil war, however, which broke out almost immediately, rendered this law useless.

The *Servilian* law even promised citizenship to any one convicting a Roman magistrate of extortion. The prize was brilliant, but how great were the dangers if a man did not succeed; how great even if he did!

All, therefore, were alike powerless, laws, tribunals, and the indignant eloquence of the great orator. No man has found severer words than he against the pro-consular rule and that haughty patriciate which had been able, indeed, to conquer the world, but knew not how to govern it, inasmuch as no power was more rapacious, oppressive, and insolent.[3] Unfortunately, Cicero, who saw the evil so well, did not see that there could be no limit to these iniquities till Rome should bring the old organization

[1] See p. 433; Cic., *de Prov. Cons.*, ii. 15; *pro Domo*, 9; Sall., *Jug.*, 22. The senate first decided what two provinces should be consular, after which the consuls drew lots to determine which each should have.

[2] This bust was probably one of the spoils carried from the East to Rome.

[3] An Appius speaks contemptuously of Cicero as a new man, even after all his successes at the bar and at the rostra, even after his consulate. (Cic., *ad Fam.*, iii. 7.) If we exclude the exactions of the governors, the tax levied by Rome was light, about 200,000,000 sesterces annually, or less than £2,280,000.

of a Latin municipium into harmony with the royal fortune which the wisdom and boldness of her senate had brought to her. For new times new institutions are needed. As we have been on the side of Rome against the Samnites and against Carthage, we are now against Rome and on the side of humanity, and we say without hesitation that it was necessary that the empire should become the patrimony of one man, and that all the conquerors especially should feel over them the hand of a master keeping them subject to law and justice. But this regal authority which the provinces would have hailed with acclamations[1] was not yet visible amidst the chaos of domestic dissensions; and since a master, a saving divinity, as the Greeks said, did not appear at Rome, they sought him in the East, where two powerful States were at that time in process of formation—Armenia, which owed her fortune to the weakness of the Parthians and Seleucidæ, and Pontus, which owed hers to the genius of her king, Mithridates VI. Eupator.

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, i. 9, ii. 44. See also what is said by Strabo, himself a provincial (vi. 4, 2, *ad fin.*)

[2] From an ancient painting belonging to the Barberini.

Roma dea.[2]

CHAPTER XLV

INSURRECTION OF THE PROVINCES; MITHRIDATES.

I.—Mithridates.

FOR the last forty years, as we have said, the Roman world had been agitated by the repeated complaints of the poor of Rome, of the Italians, even of the slaves; it was now to feel those of the provincials. As upon an ocean scourged by tempests, threatening waves succeeded one another; the Gracchi had attacked only the privileges of the great; the Italians those of Rome; Mithridates was now to attempt to break down everything, great and small, and reduce conquered and conquerors alike to one common ruin. He would not have succeeded for a moment had there not existed in his favour an actual conspiracy of all the Greek-speaking provinces; their deputies encouraged him in his hopes, and they came to him not from Asia only, but from the Cyrenaica, from Carthaginian Africa,[2] from Athens, and from many parts of continental Greece. That Gaul and Spain did not share in this movement is due to the fact that they were yet too barbarous for their policy to rise to the conception of a general league among the provinces; meanwhile, during the Social war, and while Mithridates was yet busy with his preparations, the Thracians, excited by him, fell upon Macedonia, and in Narbonensis the Salluvii took up arms, and the Celtiberians and Lusitanians had but just laid them down when they resumed them under the leadership of Sertorius.[3] Also, in spite of what has been said

Coin of the Cyrenaica.[1]

[1] Rayed female head. On the reverse, beardless head of Jupiter Ammon. Gold coin of the Cyrenaica.

[2] Eutropius, vi. 11; Athenæus, v. 50.

[3] Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 99–100. In the year 93 Didius obtained a victory over the Celtiberians, and Licinius Crassus over the Lusitanians. (Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.*)

of this Roman aristocracy, who regarded the world as their prey, it is wonderful to see them, in the midst of these storms coming up at once from all quarters of the horizon, facing the tempest, braving all dangers, like the indestructible rock on which their Capitol was built, and to which the poet promises eternity: . . . . *Capitoli immobile saxum.*

Besides, were their enemies any better? The dominion of Rome was very severe, her prætors very rapacious, the provincials very wretched; but read the history of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ, especially from the time of that Antiochus VIII., who forced his mother, Cleopatra, herself to drink the poison she had offered him. Consider in these royal families all natural sentiments outraged by odious vices and crimes, by incest and parricide, by murder in all its worst forms, mothers killing their sons, and sons their mothers; brothers murdering each other; everywhere intrigue, treason, revolt; authority contemptible and powerless; a frightful destitution among the people; and nowhere the consolations of liberty or the tranquillity of despotism;[1] and then can any one say that these States and dynasties were not doomed to perish. The period of the successors of Alexander was the slow and miserable death of the Græco-Oriental world. Under this exterior decomposition no doubt healthful forces were at work. Whilst empires were breaking each other in pieces, ideas and beliefs were fused, and beneath the heavy hand of Rome, which was at last to discipline this chaos, a moral revolution was preparing? The senate was not conscious of its work, but impelled by pride and the instinct of domination, with the calm and strength of fate, they brought all these nations together in that unity of rule which alone rendered possible a unity of faith. It was this fortune and these destinies that one man attempted to arrest, and for thirty years he seemed to succeed in the attempt.

[1] See the history of Ptolemy IX. and of the five sons of Antiochus VIII., contemporary with the epoch of which we are speaking: *Mutuis fratrum odiis et mox filiis inimicitiis parentum succedentibus, cum inexpiabili bello et reges et regnum. Syriæ consumptum esset* . . . . (Justin, xl. 1.) After the death of the last of the sons of Grypus, Aretas, an Arab chief, seized upon Cœle-syria. (Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xiii 15, 2.) In 87 the Syrians called in Tigranes of Armenia, who reigned peaceably over Syria until the victories of Lucullus in 69. (Just., xl. 1.) Eastern Cilicia also acknowledged Tigranes. (App., *Syr.*, 48.) Laodice, wife of Ariarathes V., poisoned five of his sons to secure the kingdom for the sixth. (Justin, xxxvii. 1.)

Mithridates VI. Eupator, whom historians have called "the Great," inherited from his father, the faithful ally of the senate,[1] nothing but the kingdom of Pontus (120); he was then scarcely twelve years old,[2] but very early manifested his ambitious and indomitable character. His mother, who was to govern the kingdom during his minority, was his first victim, his brother the second. The courtiers in alarm sought to free themselves from so terrible a master,[3] but he defeated their plots. For seven years he never slept under a roof, wandering in the woods, hunting wild beasts over the plains and mountains, sometimes making 1,000 *stadia*[5] in a day, and acquiring by these violent exercises a constitution which braved the fatigues of half a century of war. Like Attalus of Pergamus, he made a study of vegetable poisons, and familiarized himself so thoroughly with dangers of this kind that it was believed he had nothing to fear from them. Brave, as well as strong and agile, he was the best soldier in his army, and could manage a team of sixteen horses harnessed to his chariot. Age seemed to have no hold upon him, and at seventy he was still fighting, bearing upon his body as many scars as he had fought battles.

Coin of Mithridates the Great.[4]

By the pomp with which he loved to surround himself, by his harem, and by his contempt for human life he was an Asiatic king; by his taste for letters, sciences, precious vases[6] and engraved

[1] He brought assistance to Rome with troops and ships in the third Punic war and in the war against Aristonicus, which brought him in return a portion of Phrygia. (Appian, *Mithr.*, 10.)

[2] Strabo (x. p. 477) and Justin (xxxvii. 2) call him eleven years old at his accession to the throne, Appian (*Mith.*, 112) twelve, Memnon (chap. xxx., ed. Orelli) thirteen, but Strabo was a native of the country, and ought to be best informed.

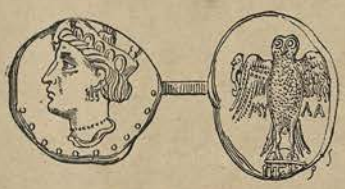
[3] The Pontic nobles were a real feudal power; Strabo mentions one, a relative of his, who gave up to Lucullus fifteen fortified castles. (xii. 3, 33.)

[4] Diademed head of Mithridates VI. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. Pegasus, a star, a crescent, and a monogram in a wreath of ivy and grape. Tetradrachm of Mithridates the Great. By a comparison of this coin with that given on p. 554, it will be seen that these heads are portraits.

[5] A *stadium*=200 yards.

[6] The coloured lithograph represents the famous Bacchic cup of the *Cabinet de France*.

gems he was a Greek prince; by his indomitable courage a barbarian chief.[1] The position of his kingdom explains this: Pontus, bounded towards the sea by the Greek republics of Amisus and Trebizond, on the east by the barbarous tribes of Iberia and Colchis, on the south by Armenia, whose king, Tigranes, assumed the title of Monarch of the East. Mithridates visited all these nations; he studied their strength and their weakness, and acquired their languages; he could, it is said, speak twenty-two dialects,



Coin of Amisus.[2]

Coin of Trebizond.[3]

Coin of Colchis.[4]

and talk with all the barbarous tribes of Scythia and the Caucasus without an interpreter.

In unskilful hands Pontus would have remained an obscure state; an able ruler, on the contrary, could find elements of power there. Its savage inhabitants and all *Barbaria* that surrounded it would supply warlike soldiers, while the Greeks of the seashore, whom he knew how to interest in his cause, put at his service the resources of civilization. Great men are not everything in history—witness Rome, where they did but little; for Pontus, however, its fortunes, during a half century, depended exclusively upon Mithridates.[5]

No. 279 of the Catalogue. It has been called the *Vase of Mithridates* and the *Cup of the Ptolemies*. A Carlovingian king in the ninth century presented this splendid piece of Oriental sardonyx to the treasury of the abbey of S. Denis, where it remained till the Revolution. It is decorated with the attributes of the worship of Bacchus; Priapus and Ceres are represented on it. (Cf. Chabouillet, *Catalogue général et raisonné*, etc., p. 51–54, and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq.*, at the word *Carchesium*, p. 919.)

[1] Velleius Paterculus (ii. 18) depicts him thus: *Bello acerrimus, virtute eximius, aliquando fortuna, semper animo maximus, consiliis dux, miles manu, odio in Romanos Hannibal.*

[2] Turreted female head. On the reverse, ΜΥΑΑ ΠΕΙΤ, two monograms (names of unknown magistrates); owl, front view. Didrachme of Amisus.

[3] ΤΡΑ, first letters of the Greek name (*τραπέζους*) of this city, which signifies a table; a table covered, it is explained, with pieces of money. Reverse of a silver coin of *Trapezus* (Trebizond).

[4] *Couchant* lioness. On the reverse, a unicorn with kneeling human body. Unique silver coin of Colchis. (*Cabinet de France.*)

[5] Pontus was the narrow coast of the Euxine, stretching from the Phasis on the east, where

Returning home after a long absence, he decimated his court, which had believed him dead, and killed Laodice, his sister, and wife; he then organized his armies, and lending aid, through motives of self-interest, to the king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, Parisades, he delivered him from the Scythians, Sarmatians, and Roxolani, but compelled him to descend to the position of

Funeral *fillet* of an Inhabitant of Panticapæum (near Kertch, once the Capital of the Cimmerian Bosphorus).[1]

vassal, and pay into the Pontic treasury 200 talents yearly. His generals penetrated as far as the mouths of the Tyras (Dniester), where one of them constructed a fort called from his own name the tower of Neoptolemus, and already his emissaries were busy in Thrace and in the valley of the Danube. On the death of Parisades he added the Bosphorus to his estates; a hill in that country is called to this day *the hill of Mithridates*, in the neighbourhood of Kertch, near the famous tumulus of Koul-Oba, which contained so many magnificent works of Greek art.[3]

Parisades.[2]

This kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, very ancient and very rich, had been the granary of Athens, which city had been

it bordered upon Colchis as far as beyond the Halys in the west, where its kings made their residence at Sinope. On the south this kingdom was bounded by Galatia, Cappadocia, and lesser Armenia.

[1] The skeleton was covered with a gold-embroidered tunic. (*Ant. du Bosph. cimmér.*, pl. 3, No. 3.)

[2] Diademed head of Parisades II., king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Gold coin.

[3] These treasures, discovered by a Frenchman, Paul Dubrux, are now in the Museum of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. They are, however, represented in a work (*Antiquités du Bosphore cimmérien*) published in Russian and in French by the Imperial Government, from which work we borrow some designs.

accustomed to receive from it annually 400,000 medimni of corn, and it also fed many other Greek cities.[1] The Milesian colony of Panticapæum was at first the centre of this immense commerce in corn. About 363 B.C., Leucon, "the magnificent prince," had been obliged to open at Theodosia another port, capable of receiving 100 merchant vessels. In this way great wealth accumulated in the hands of these skilful speculators, and they were in a position to attract to the Chersonesus the most distinguished Greek artists. In their tombs are found splendid ornaments with which they adorned the dead.[2]

Mithridates proposed to utilize in other ways resources so extensive. From his palace of Sinope he beheld the waves which rolled in from the Caucasus and the coasts of the Tauric Chersonesus, so that he might well say that this Euxine Sea was his own, a magnificent basin in which to form and exercise a fleet far from all jealous eyes.

The kings of Pontus had never before dreamed of a maritime empire. They were more apt to look towards Asia Minor, and as if to go out to meet the civilization of the Greek world, they had audaciously established their capital at the extreme west of their territory, at Amasia, in a deep gorge, through which flows the river Iris. In placing here their fortress, their treasures, and their tombs, and thus making this city the holy place of the dynasty, they had imposed upon themselves the necessity of advancing their frontier in this direction, a work which was especially tempting to the ambition of Mithridates.

In Asia Minor the Romans at this time occupied only the western portion: the rest of the peninsula remaining a chaos of republics, kingdoms, and tetrarchates. Cilicia, the insecure possession of the Seleucidæ and of the kings of Cappadocia, was a lair of pirates, whom Rome had already chastised, and whom she essayed to restrain by forming on their coast a military establishment in the year 103. Phrygia and Paphlagonia knew not to whom they belonged. Mithridates regretted the loss of the former, which the senate had taken from him at his accession; for the

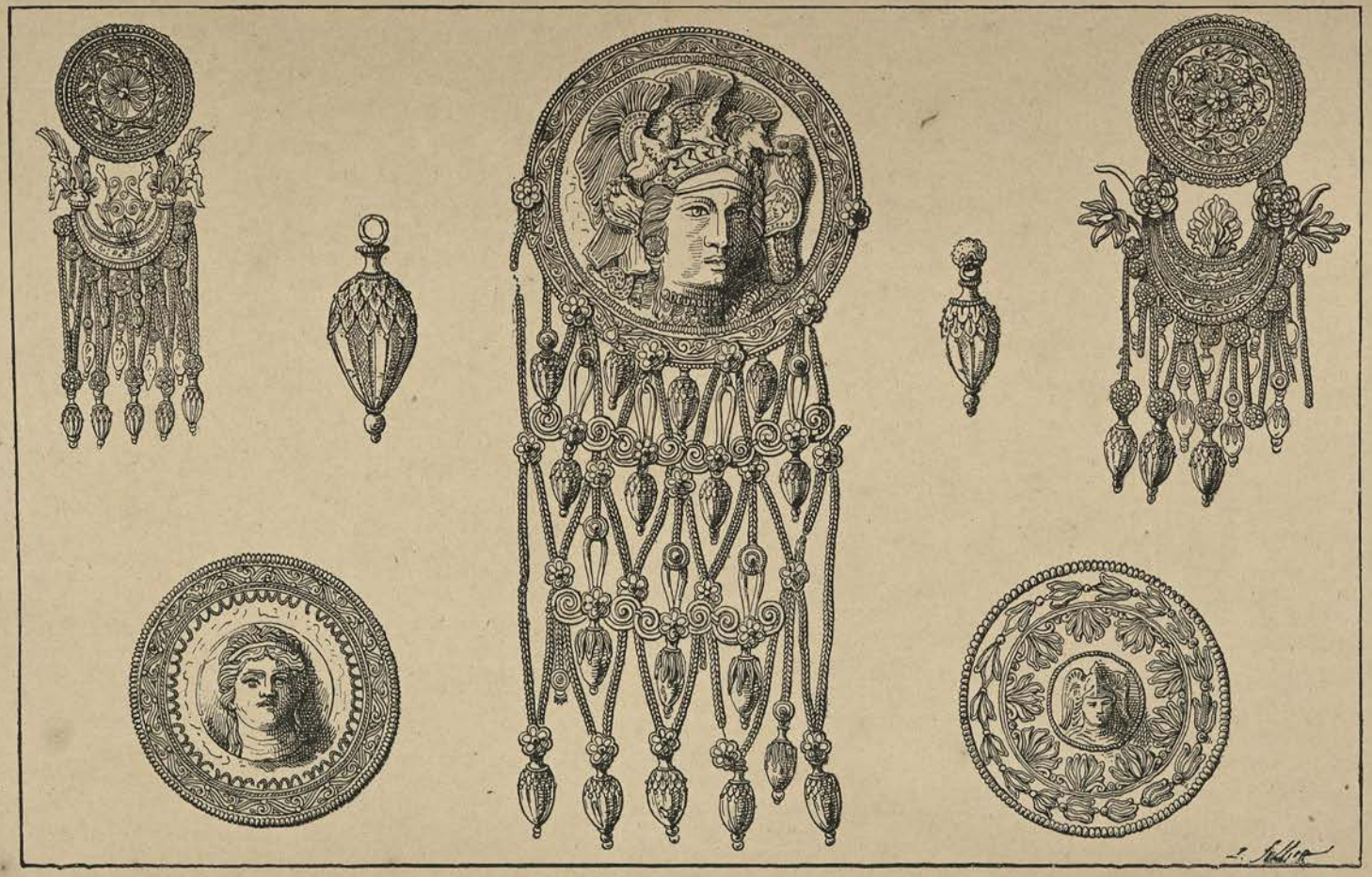
[1] The medimnus was about five and a half pecks. Athens gave citizenship to Leucon, king of this country, and to his sons.

[2] See pp. 643 and 645.

P. SELLIER, del. Imp. Fraillery.

CUP WORKED IN ORIENTAL SARDONYX

Cabinet de France.



Jewels found at Koul-Oba (p. 644).

partition of the latter he had formed an agreement with Nicomedes II. of Bithynia. The Romans having summoned the two princes to abandon this province, Nicomedes withdrew, giving one of his sons for king to the western Paphlagonians, but Mithridates replied, haughtily, "This kingdom belonged to my father, and I am astonished that any one should dispute my right to it." To this conquest he added an alliance with the Galatians, who later furnished him auxiliaries at the time of his expedition into Greece, and to secure Cappadocia, whence he should touch upon Phrygia which the Romans had taken from him during his minority, he now caused Ariarathes, his brother-in-law, king of Cappadocia, to be killed; he murdered with his own hand one of this prince's children, drove out the other, and ended by placing upon the throne his own son, eight years of age. The senate, at this time occupied with the war against the Cimbri, paid little attention to these palace-tragedies. However, when the widow of Ariarathes VI., herself sister of Mithridates, and now wife of Nicomedes II., ventured to claim Cappadocia for an impostor whom she presented as the brother of the two murdered princes, while the king of Pontus affirmed that his own son was the true son of Ariarathes, the senate, at last becoming indignant, punished the two kings by ordering Nicomedes to relinquish western Paphlagonia, and Mithridates, Cappadocia, and declared the latter country to be free.

Ariarathes VI.[1]

Nicomedes II. of Bithynia.[2]

The people of Cappadocia were alarmed at this liberty; they supplicated the senate to give them a king, and Ariobarzanes was chosen.[3] All these crimes and intrigues had resulted, therefore, in provoking a threatening intervention, and in placing Cappadocia still more under the influence of Rome.

The king of Pontus did not consider himself defeated; he let

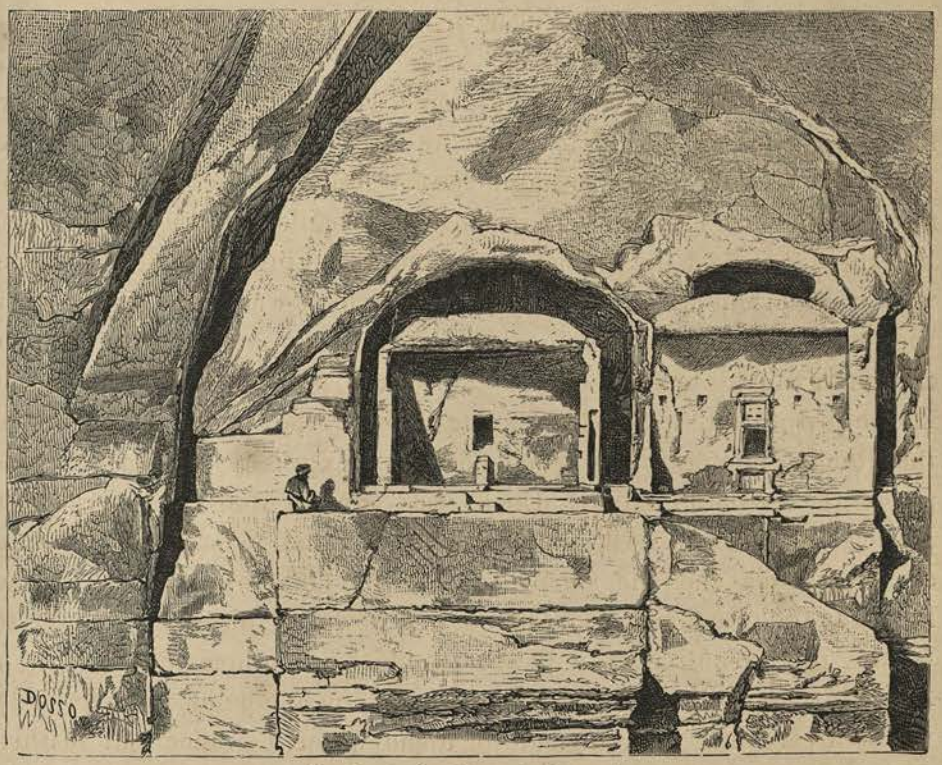
[1] Diademed head of Ariarathes VI. From a silver coin.

[2] Diademed head of Nicomedes II., king of Bithynia. From a tetradrachm.

[3] Saint Martin places this event in the year 99, Clinton (*Fasti Hellen.*) about 94; it is probable that the true date is 93.

this quarrel drop, and to avoid Roman notice he carried his arms into Colchis and the Trans-Caucasian regions, where he subjugated a great number of Scythian tribes. These expeditions trained his troops and augmented his forces by bringing him into relations with tribes which asked nothing better than to sell their courage.

When Mithridates found that the senate were occupied else-



Tombs of the Kings of Pontus.[1]

where, he resumed, notwithstanding the threats of Marius, his earlier projects, in which he had been able to interest the powerful king of Armenia, Tigranes, husband of his daughter Cleopatra.

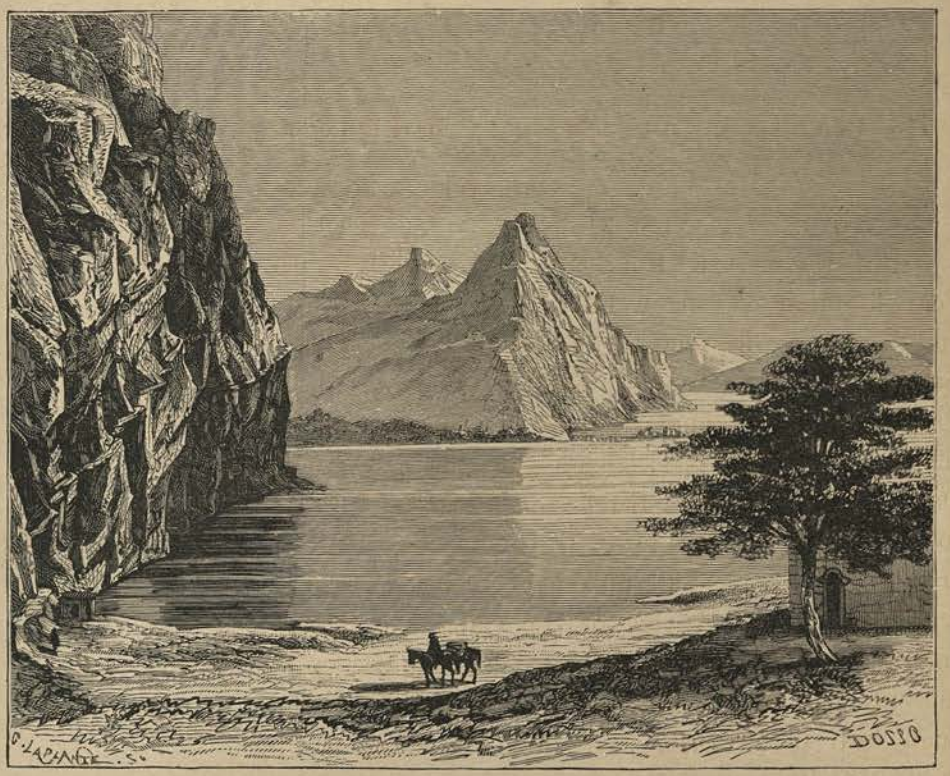
[1] Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Expl. scientif. de la Galatie*, pl. 78. The description given by Strabo of his native city is exact to this day. It stood upon the *Iris* (Yeshil-Ermek), in a deep gorge; nature had done more than art in making it important as a city and fortress. (Cf. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, vol. i. p. 336.) The royal tombs made in the rock have lost their rich ornamentation, which time and plunderers have destroyed, but whose undoubted traces have been found by MM. Perrot and Guillaume. A curious inscription discovered in the neighbourhood (*C. I. G.*, 4174) speaks of the restoration of the funeral monuments of ancient heroes by a certain Lucius; but the monuments which he restored cannot have been those of the kings of Pontus.

The two kings seem to have agreed to share western Asia, the Armenian taking the inheritance of Cyrus, and Mithridates, Roman Asia, and when acting together their hopes seemed not unreasonable. From the profits of the expedition against Cappadocia, which Mithridates proposed to him, Tigranes reserved to himself only the booty, and when Ariobarzanes had been driven out, he, as "king of kings," gave Cappadocia to his young brother-in-law, the son of Mithridates (93). The year following Sylla appeared as proprætor in that portion of Cilicia where the Romans had established themselves. He gathered a small force, crossed the Taurus, possibly by way of the Iron Gates, and restored Ariobarzanes; then he advanced far eastward through lesser Armenia, so as to be the first Roman who had ever reached the banks of the Euphrates. He there received an ambassador from the king of the Parthians, who was at this time friendly to those who were the enemies of Tigranes, and he showed in this interview an arrogance of which the unfortunate envoy became the victim, being put to death on his return to Ctesiphon for having allowed the place of honour to the Roman prætor. The scene had been expressly arranged to impress the Asiatic mind, which has always felt a respect for power; the Roman, still an obscure individual, who caused a king of Cappadocia and the envoy of so formidable a potentate as the king of the Parthians modestly to sit down at his side, seemed to be the representative of a power to which all others must yield.

This expedition, ably managed, did much honour to Sylla (92). But scarcely had he returned to Rome when Tigranes and Mithridates overthrew the senate's nominee and placed a creature of their own in his stead. Mithridates pushed his advantage; to conquered Cappadocia he added Bithynia, whence he expelled Nicomedes III., establishing instead Socrates Chrestos, a brother of that prince who was pledged to the interests of Pontus.

Mithridates was at that time really a powerful monarch; to the modest domain left him by his father he had added two-thirds of Asia Minor, the Caucasus, and the kingdom of the Bosphorus. With the exception of the coasts of Thrace, all the Euxine was subject to his sway. In a political and geographical point of view this empire lacked unity, but it afforded hordes of barbarians, paid by the treasures of the cities of the coast,

enriched as they were by the abundant fisheries of the Black Sea, by the fertility of the Crimea and the auriferous sands of the Ural, which the Scythians exchanged for the merchandise of Greece, and by a portion of the Indian commerce, which at that time followed the route of the Oxus, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus. With these resources, and his alliance with Armenia, Mithridates was justified in vast hopes; but Tigranes died,[1] assas-



The Iron Gates across the Lake Eyerdir.[2]

sinated by one of his generals, and his successor, occupied with

[1] Saint-Martin places his death in 91, following Armenian writers; Clinton in 96. (*Fasti Hellen.*, iii. 338.)

[2] Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, vol. i. p. 330. The traveller Paul Lucas, though often guilty of exaggeration, gives an accurate description of the Iron Gates: "On the right," he says, "is the mountain with precipitous rocks; at the left are formidable precipices. The road, which is half way up the mountain, overhangs the lake at a height equal to that of the towers of Notre Dame. The place was once an important pass. The road has manifestly been hewn out of the solid mass, for the rock is absolutely impassable, and perpendicular as a wall. A gateway built of hewn stones exists still, the gates themselves being of wood, mounted with iron, but they have been much impaired by time."

making his position secure, recalled the Armenian troops from Asia Minor (91). The senate, with their wonted ability, turned this tragedy to profit: although the storm was about to burst upon Italy and upon Rome, orders were sent to the prætor of Asia to replace upon their thrones Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes. Mithridates offered no resistance; he retired into his kingdom of Pontus (90), and allowed Nicomedes to ravage Paphlagonia in order to obtain means for the payment of his Roman creditors (89).

II.—Conquest of Asia Minor by Mithridates (88); Invasion of Greece (87).

But the Pontic king went on quietly with his preparations. Four hundred vessels were in his harbours, and he continued to build more; his emissaries, meanwhile, were gathering sailors and pilots in Egypt and Phœnicia, soldiers among the Scythians, Thracians, and even the Celts on the shores of the Danube; innumerable bands of barbarians were coming across the Euxine or traversing the defiles of the Caucasus, 300,000 men being at this time assembled.[1] A part of the Galatians, "the nation to whom Rome had once paid a ransom," consented to follow Mithridates, and Asia called upon him to advance. He now threw off the mask, sending one of his generals to reproach the proconsul Cassius with the acts of injustice which Rome had committed towards himself as regards Phrygia and Cappadocia. He enumerated all the forces at his disposal and the many allies he could find even in Italy among the subjects of Rome.[3] "Weigh all these considerations," he concluded;

Scythian Warrior armed with the *acinaces*.[2]

[1] Justin, xxxviii. 4.

[2] Designed from the sheath of a short sword or poniard called *acinaces*, found at Nicopolis, near the mouth of the Dnieper, in the tomb of a native chief. (Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, p. 32, fig. 60.)

[3] For the relations of Mithridates with the provincials, see Appian (*Mithrid.*, 16), Plutarch (Sylla, 11), Dion (fr. 116), Justin (xxxviii. 3), Athenæus (v. 50).

"return to better counsels, and I promise in the name of Mithridates assistance in subduing revolted Italy; otherwise, it is at Rome that we shall finally settle our dispute." [1]

At the moment when the envoy of Mithridates was using this haughty language to Cassius (the end of the year 89), Rome was

Indian Bacchus called Sardanapalus (p. 654).[2]

the bloody arena of the rivalries of Marius and Sylla, and had not yet ended the Social war; a secret fermentation was at work

[1] Appian, *Mithrid.*, 16: ἢ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ κρίσιν ἴωμεν.

[2] Colossal statue in Greek marble found in 1766 at Tusculum, in the ruins of a villa which was perhaps that of Lucius Verus. (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, pl. 41, and Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 684, No. 1602.) This personage, divinity or king, wears the Assyrian costume; he wears a long, full tunic, covered by a large mantle, on which is the name Sardanapalus in Greek letters. This inscription has excited great interest among archæologists. Clarac believes it of

throughout the provinces, and the proconsul himself was almost without soldiers in the midst of excited Asia. However, he replied with an order to Mithridates to withdraw from Cappadocia. It was a declaration of war, and Mithridates had expected it. The torrent was at once let loose; Nicomedes and the consular legate Aquillius, who sought to check it at the head of those provincial levies of which Cicero speaks with so much contempt, were defeated.

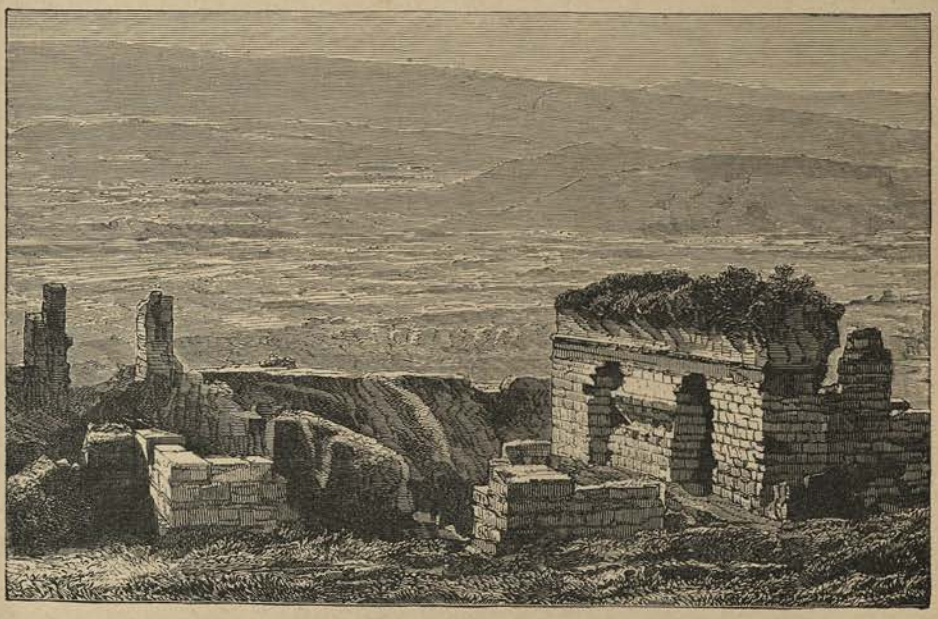
Aqueduct, on the Principle of the Siphon, at Patara.[1]

Mithridates drove back the proconsul Oppius from Cappadocia into Pamphylia, and in a single action destroyed the Roman fleet which guarded the entrance of the Euxine. The conqueror then sent home the prisoners he had taken, excused the debts of the cities, and promised them five years' exemption from subsidies. As a result

later date than the statue itself; M. Alfred Maury is of opinion that Sardanapalus, identified with the bearded Indian Bacchus, is perhaps an Asiatic solar divinity. (Cf. Movers, *die Phœnizier*, vol. i. p. 462, 478, 479, and Guigniaut, *les Religions de l'antiquité*, book vii.)

[1] Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie min.*, vol. iii. pl. 179. A very ancient construction, proving that the use of the siphon was understood in remote times.

the people everywhere came out to meet him, and his advance was not so much a conquest as a triumphal march. They called him a saving divinity and the new Bacchus, while his noble face recalling that of Alexander added to the illusion. Magnesia ad Sipylum, Stratonicæa in Caria, and Patara in Lycia, with a few others, resisted the general current. To bind the Asiatic population to his cause by a sanguinary tie, the king of Pontus sent to the governors of all the cities secret orders, which were not to be opened until a fixed date. On the day appointed, at



Ephesus; Ruins of the Gymnasium (p. 655).[1]

the same hour, the entire province revenged itself for its long afflictions. All the Romans and Italians in Asia were murdered, women, children, and even slaves perishing amid tortures. Not even the most venerated sanctuaries were able to protect the victims;[2] their confiscated property was divided between the murderers and the king, and the latter found himself sufficiently enriched to be able to declare the Asiatics free of all tax for five years. Ephesus among all these cities signalized her hate. When

[1] *Voyage de Constantinople à Ephèse*, by De Moustier (*Tour du monde*, part 229, p. 270.)

[2] Appian, *Mithrid.*, 61. Some authors state the number murdered [at this ancient S. Bartholomew] at 80,000 (Val. Max., ix. 2), others at 100,000, and even at 150,000. (Plut., *Sylla.*)

there were no Romans left to kill, the inhabitants turned their fury against monuments erected by them or in their honour, and the city earned the distinction of being the capital of the new empire. Cassius meanwhile had fled as far as Rhodes. Oppius was given up by the people of Laodicæa, and Mithridates carried him along in chains. Aquillius, betrayed by the Mitylenians, was exhibited to public derision in the principal cities, until at Pergamus he was put to death by pouring molten gold into his mouth (88).[2] Rome thus expiated by the death of 100,000 of her people or her allies, and by a shock which made the whole empire tremble, the abominable exactions of her pro-consuls and her publicans.

Coin of Mitylene.[1]

The first part of the plans of Mithridates had now been carried out; Asia had been gained, with the exception of a few cities that still held out, one of them, Rhodes, making a brilliant resistance and giving shelter to the Romans who had escaped from the massacre. Several times Mithridates attacked this island city, but was always unsuccessful, and in one of these naval battles narrowly escaped with his life. He passed the winter of 88—7 at Pergamus in order to be near Greece, and celebrated there with great pomp his marriage with the beautiful Monima, a Greek of Stratonicæa or Miletus, who had refused his offers until he consented to bestow upon her the rank of queen. The fault which had ruined Antiochus[3] now became disastrous to Mithridates; the great king gave place to the voluptuous satrap, and the opportunity for striking a decisive blow went by. The Pontic king, however, did not forget himself so entirely as did Antiochus. During his wedding festivities he sent out from his harem, his orders for the massacre, and he now made ready to profit by the civil war which was detaining the legions in Italy, to fulfil his promises to the Italians and Greeks.

[1] Laurelled head of Apollo. On the reverse, MYTI, lyre, and serpent. Silver coin of Mitylene.

[2] Appian, *Mithrid.*, 21. According to Diodorus (xxxvii. 27) he killed himself to escape from insults and tortures.

[3] See p. 47.

The Greeks were keenly alive to the events on the opposite shore of the Ægean, and the rhetoricians did not fail to extol in pompous language the generosity of the king, the liberation of Asia, and the revival of the Hellenic race. The Athenians, always mindful of the great achievements of their ancestors, were now the most excited. They had had less to suffer than others from pro-consular exactions, and Rome had shown them very unusual consideration. But their immense vanity was not content with the trivial part which they now played in the world, and they were indignant to see eminent Romans like the orators Crassus and Antonius traverse their city without rendering her the customary homage, disdaining her marvels, her yet famous schools, and in the city of Sophocles and Demosthenes affecting to speak "their barbaric language."[1] Accordingly, Athens had accepted the no doubt brilliant offers of Mithridates. That city was now to be the base of operations for the Pontic army; the siege she endured was the most considerable incident of the war; and as if to show that it was not so much a question of the independence of a little nation as of a struggle which had already been going on for more than a century between the Hellenic and the Latin civilizations, two philosophers, Aristion and Apellicon of Teos, conducted the defence, and it was the representative of the old Roman party who in the end forced her gates.

In the spring of the year 87 the Pontic fleet, mistress of the Ægean Sea, transported into Greece an army under the command of the Cappadocian Archelaus, while one of the king's sons, Arcathias, on the north of the Hellespont, was gathering another army, to be augmented on its march by the Thracian and Danubian tribes, among whom the emissaries of Mithridates had long been at work. This plan was skilful. The Roman governor of Macedon, who alone in Hellas had some troops at his disposal, would be hemmed in between the two Asiatic armies. But the 150,000 men whom Mithridates promised to send into Greece were a kind of troops that Flamininus had once characterized by telling a story,[2] and the same prince who had conducted the Asiatic war with so much resolution and celerity, now carried on the European

[1] See Hinstin, *Les Romains à Athènes*, p. 68, *seq*.

[2] See p. 47.

campaign with inexplicable delays. Archelaus, who ought to have been able to arrive in Greece in the year 88, while Italy was yet in a blaze, reached his destination only in the following year, when the war was nearly over, and the king's army spent a whole year in going from Lampsacus to Thermopylæ. Archelaus easily brought about the defection of Athens, long before prepared by the philosopher Aristion, also of Eubœa and the Peloponnesus, and of Bœotia, with the exception of Thespiæ; also two fortresses of Chalcis and of Demetrias still remained in the hands of the Roman party.

The first collision between the Romans and Asiatics took place in Bœotia. Bruttius Sura, the lieutenant of the governor of Macedon, drove out of Thessaly a detachment which had endeavoured to capture Demetrias, for three days fought successfully with Archelaus in the plain of Chæronea, and would have remained master of the field if the approach of the Peloponnesians had not wrested the victory from him.[1] The shock was so severe that it had the effect of bringing the invasion to a stand. Moreover, Sylla was coming up, and the Pontic army was not; Archelaus fell back upon the Piræus,[2] and Aristion re-entered Athens. They held only the coast of Greece, but that they held strongly, thanks to the half-insular position of Athens and their own fleet, mistress of the Ægean.

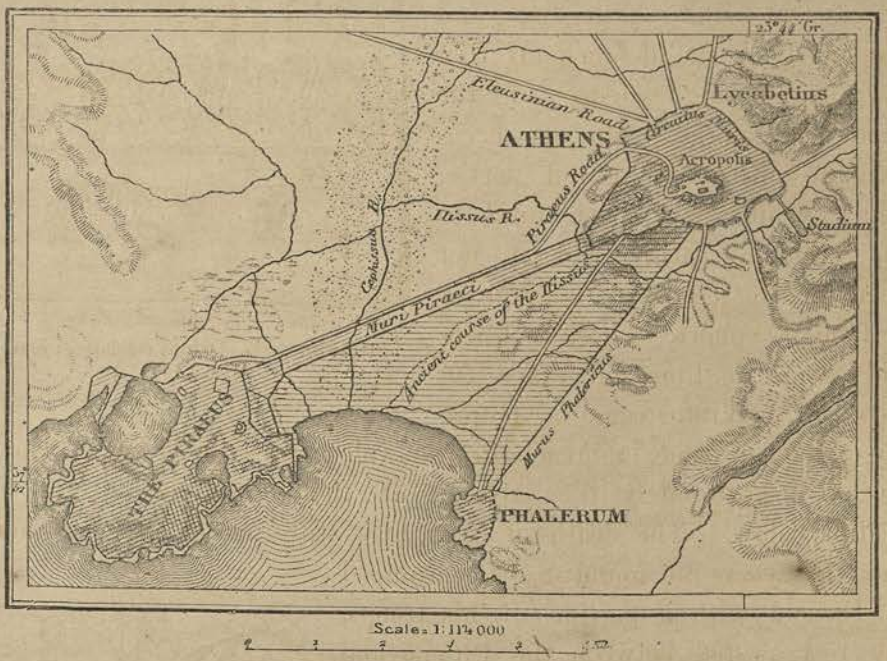
III.—Siege of Athens; Battles of Chæronea and Orchomenus (87—85).

While fighting was going on in Bœotia, Sylla had crossed the Adriatic with five legions—about 30,000 men—and the little gold that he had been able to obtain by the sale of the consecrated

[1] The arrival of Sylla in Greece put a stop to all these movements; in the further progress of the war the Peloponnesians were entirely out of account.

[2] Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol.*, pl. xii. [The Piræus is now a very different place from what it was. It contains 20,000 inhabitants; its harbour is full of ships, and, sad to relate, a rapidly increasing number of factory chimneys is defacing the place. The harbour, though not large, is perfectly sheltered, and deep up to the shore, and is able to hold many ships of war, together with merchantmen and steamers.—*Ed.*]

treasures of the temples.[1] He levied some auxiliaries in Thessaly, Ætolia, and Bœotia, and marched upon Athens, leaving strong detachments at Megara to close the isthmus, and at Eleusis, to keep open the route to Bœotia, which was to supply him with provisions. Athens was connected with the Piræus by the Long Walls of Themistocles, and with the aid of the Pontic fleet the Piræus was constantly receiving soldiers and provisions, which were sent into the city. Sylla at first devoted all his efforts to separating the city from its harbour by breaking through the Long Walls;



The Long Walls of Athens.[2]

he then made a furious attack upon the Piræus, sparing neither his soldiers nor himself, for proscribed at Rome as he was, it was only by a victory, and a prompt one, that he could save himself. To construct his machines of war he had cut down the fine trees of the Lyceum and the Academy; to pay his soldiers he pillaged the temples of Delphi, Epidaurus, and Olympia, promising that the gold should be restored after the war.[3] The priests of Delphi

[1] App., *Mithrid.*, 22. Orosius, v. 18: *Loca publica quæ in circuitu Capitoli, pontificibus auguribus, decemviris et flaminibus in possessionem tradita erant, cogente inopia, vendita sunt.*

[2] The Phaleric wall fell into decay as soon as Pericles completed the southern Long Wall (440 B.C.).

[3] Plutarch, *Sylla*, 12. He kept his word, but it was the Greeks who paid for him. After

called to their aid presages forbidding this forced loan. They had heard the lyre of Apollo sound in the sanctuary. "It is a sign that he consents," the general said; "deliver over these treasures; the god himself gives them to us to fight against the barbarians; they will be safer in my hands than in yours."

Sculpture from Delphi (Quadriga and Wreaths).[1]

Meanwhile the attack on the Piræus made no progress. Archelaus skilfully checked the advances of the besiegers, and employed in the defence all that the engineering science of the time had taught. On one occasion he ordered a grand sortie, which would have been fatal to the besieging army had it not been for the desperate courage of a Roman cohort, whose soldiers had some military disgrace to wipe out. Winter came on before the rams had made a breach in the walls, constructed of enormous blocks. Fortunately the advance of the Pontic army was incredibly slow. The death of Arcathias still further delayed them, and the year 86 found Sylla encamped at Eleusis with a portion of his troops, the rest posted between the Piræus and Athens, to continue the blockade; the Pontic army besieged in these two places, Eubœa and Macedon; and Mithridates still in Asia.

Battering-Ram (used by hand).[2]

In the spring Sylla renewed his attacks vigorously, but Lucullus, whom he had sent into Egypt to collect vessels, had not been able to form a fleet capable of disputing the seas with

the battle of Chæronea he consecrated to Jupiter and Apollo half the territory of Thebes to compensate the temples for the treasures that he had "borrowed" from them. (Plut., *Sylla*, 27.)

[1] Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol.*, pl. xcii., fig. 2.

[2] Bas-relief of Trajan's column. (Bartoli, *Colonna Traj.*, pl. xxii.) Dacians attacking

that of the king of Pontus. Despairing of the capture of the Piræus, so long as Mithridates remained master of the seas, he turned his efforts against the city. Athens was already suffering from famine; it is asserted that the medimnus of corn was sold at 1,000 drachmæ.[1] However, Aristion, master of the citadel, and supported by the troops which Archelaus had furnished him, did not speak of surrender. According to Plutarch, who manifestly calumniates him, this sophist, turned general, was a wretch in whom all the vices contended for mastery. His nights were spent in revels, and by day he appeared upon the walls to insult the Romans, Metella, their general's wife, and Sylla himself, whom, on account of his blotchy complexion, Aristion compared to a mulberry powdered with meal. The philosophers of that time believed themselves to be statesmen and even warriors. The Peripatetic Apellicon of Teos also had a command in Athens.[3] He was very fond of books, bought them everywhere, and stole them from the public collections—fortunate thefts, we may say, for Apellicon suffered from the *lex talionis*; Sylla seized his library and carried it to Rome. The manuscripts of Aristotle were a part of it;[4] they were copied, and Andronicus of Rhodes prepared from them the first known collection of this master's works.

Coin of Athens.[2]

Coin of Apellicon.[5]

The walls which Themistocles had built still arrested the advance of Sylla, and gave the two friends time to

city walls by means of a beam terminating in a ram's head. We commit an anachronism in borrowing this detail of Trajan's column to show the use of this machine, which was, according to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, vii. 57), of very ancient date. On an architectural monument the soldiers are naturally represented exposed; in siege operations, however, they handled the ram under movable shelters.

[1] Plut., *Sylla*, 13.

[2] Coin of Athens. On the obverse, the head of Minerva; on the reverse, the name of Mithridates, ΒΑ(σι)ΛΕ(ὺς) ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ that of the Athenians, ΑΘΕ(ναίων), and that of Aristion, ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ. (Beulé, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 37, and *Revue numism.*, 1863, p. 176–179.)

[3] He was at the head of an expedition against Delos and was defeated. (Athenæus, v. p. 214; Strabo, p. 609.)

[4] [The story of the loss and recovery of Aristotle's MSS. in a cellar at Scepsis is told by Strabo XIII. i. 54, and has excited much controversy.—*Ed.*]

[5] Beulé, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, No. 211. ΑΘΕ(ναίων) ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΝΟΣ. ΔΑ.

philosophize. Meanwhile famine had spread even to the troops. Twice Archelaus made an attempt to provision Athens, but Sylla, informed by two slaves, who threw into his lines hollow balls containing information, intercepted the convoys; Aristion finally decided to send to Sylla two envoys, who harangued him at great length in praise of Theseus, Eumolpus, and Miltiades. "I was not sent hither to take lessons in eloquence, but to punish rebels," said the general, and he sent them away. On the first day of March, 86, some soldiers surprised a weak place in the defence, and the city was taken. Sylla caused a portion of the wall to be thrown down, and at midnight, with trumpets sounding the charge and the shouts of the whole army, he entered the city.[1] Here he respected the monuments, but not the lives of men. Sylla wished to terrify Greece and Asia by the sack of this city, which in delaying his advance for nine months had risked his fortunes. His soldiers being satiated with blood and gold, and the terror of his name spread in all directions, he restored their liberty to those of the Athenians who yet survived, and even gave them back the island of Delos; once more Athens was saved by the memory of her illustrious dead.

Coin of Aristion.[2]

Sylla now resumed the siege of the Piræus with great activity; behind every section of wall that his rams broke down he found another wall erected by his skilful and persevering adversary, and he was forced to conquer the place inch by inch.[3] Archelaus, driven back into Munychia, which the sea surrounded on all sides, might have continued his resistance, but it was no longer worth while for the Pontic army to remain on this point of the Athenian territory. By their valiant defence they had for nearly a year kept Sylla out of Asia, and given time to Mithridates to complete his preparations, and to the royal army time to arrive in Greece. Archelaus now embarked and sailed for Eubœa to put himself in

[1] Plut., *Sylla*, 14.

[2] Beulé, *ibid.*, No. 216. The owl of Minerva, the name of the Athenians, ΑΘΕ(*ναίων*), and that of three monetary officials, ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ ΦΙΛΩΝ ΗΓΙΑΣ ΑΠ.

[3] Sylla, who has respected the public buildings of Athens, destroyed all those of the Piræus. (App., *Mithrid.*, 41.)

communication with Taxiles, the new general in command of the army from Thrace, who was coming down in the rear of the legions with an army of 110,000 men. Sylla, not being master of the sea, could not allow himself to be shut up in sterile Attica; moreover, he wished to meet Hortensius, who was bringing reinforcements to him from Thessaly. Being obliged to avoid Thermopylæ, where a force of the enemy were in wait for him, Hortensius had taken the road by Mount Pindus and was coming

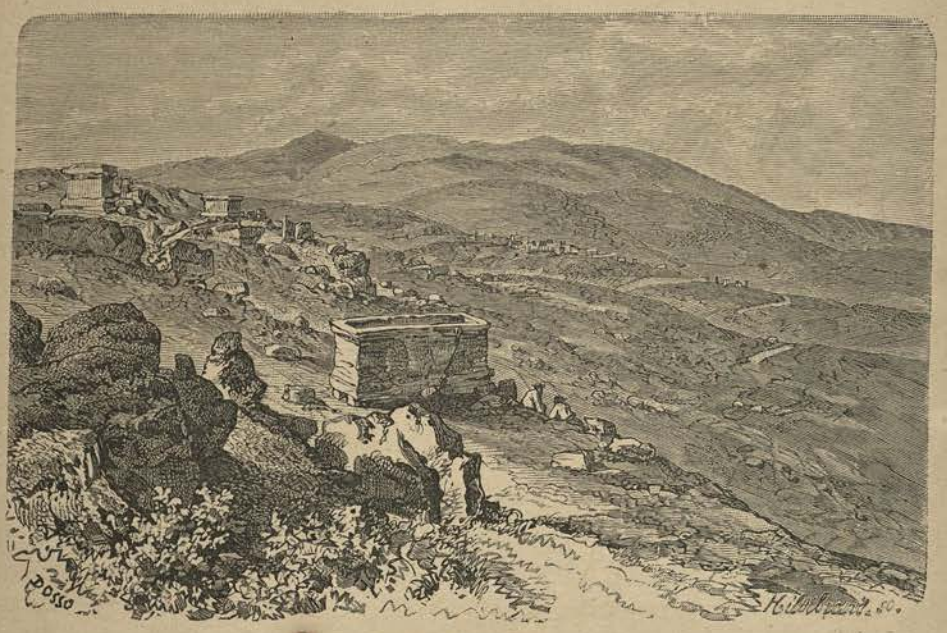
Soldier armed with a Sling.[1]

A Roman Trumpeter (*cornicen*).[2]

down into Bœotia. Two roads, one passing to the south, the other to the north of Mount Parnes, led from Athens into the Bœotian plain, coming out at Platæa and at Tanagra respectively. Sylla doubtless availed himself of both routes to move his army more rapidly, and made his junction with Hortensius in the neighbourhood of Elatea. Thanks to Plutarch, who was a native of the country, and prepared his history by aid of Sylla's Memoirs, we are better informed than usual about the incidents of this campaign.

[1] From the column of Trajan.
[2] From the Arch of Constantine.

The proconsul established his camp on a hill close by a stream of water. There he saw everything, and was himself seen, which was a part of his design, for he hoped that the enemy, confiding in their superior numbers, and despising the small Roman force, might commit some imprudence.[1] And so it happened, for the officers and soldiers of Taxiles demanded to be led to battle, and Archelaus himself wished it. The plain was full of men and horses and chariots. The glitter of their armour,



View of Platæa.[2]

adorned with gold and silver, the brilliant colours of the Median and Scythian dress, the polished lustre of brass and steel, gave this immense mass a conspicuous and formidable aspect. But, as Marius had done in the presence of the Teutons, Sylla now kept his army motionless behind their entrenchments, and supported with patience the taunts of the barbarians, who, encouraged by this inaction, spread themselves abroad many days' journey from the camp for purposes of rapine and plunder. They sacked cities,

[1] Plutarch gives Sylla but 16,500 men. But Sylla understated the number of his troops, as also that of his slain. If we say 30,000, of whom half were Romans, we shall doubtless come near the truth.

[2] Baron von Stackelberg; *Greece.* [This view looks west towards Mount Helicon.—*Ed.*]

pillaged temples, and arrayed against themselves the gods, and the inhabitants of the country who kept Sylla informed of of all the movements of the Asiatics; the gods, especially the renowned oracle of Trophonius, multiplied predictions of Roman successes.

Terra-cotta Figurine from Tanagra.[1]

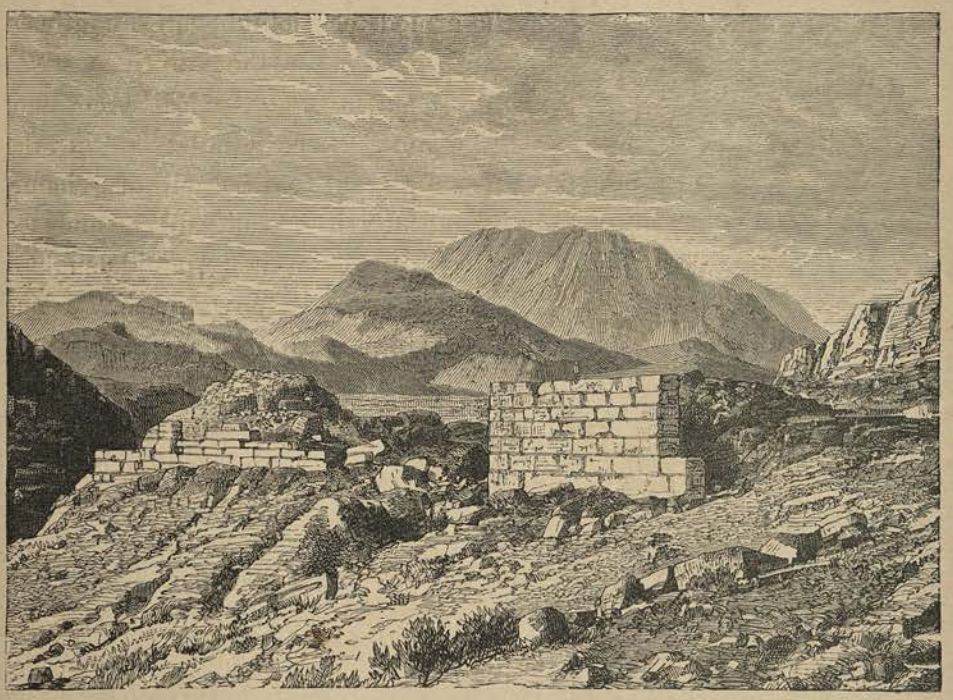
To draw the Romans out of their lines, Archelaus, who commanded in chief, broke up his camp, and moved in the direction of Chæronea, along the western shore of Lake Copais, an imprudent movement, for, in case of defeat, he had no line open upon which he could retreat. Sylla forestalled him; for a tribune with one legion, guided by some Chæroneans, occupied this important city before he could arrive; the Romans found here many souvenirs of the brilliant encounters of Bruttius Sura with this second Xerxes; and such was the confidence of the soldiers that, on the arrival of the general, the tribune offered him a wreath of laurel in their name, as though the victory had already been won.

The Asiatics were posted on a hill called Mount Thurium, overlooking the city. On the arrival of the proconsul two men of Chæronea came to him with a proposal to conduct a small

[1] Heuzey, *les Figurines de terre cuite du musée du Louvre*, pl. xxii., fig. 1.

party by a secret foot-path to a point above the enemy. He accepted their offer, and made his plans accordingly. In his half-entrenched position, Sylla awaited the effect of the surprise of Mount Thurium, and the onset of the Pontic army.

The enemy's order of battle consisted in placing the chariots in the first rank; in the second, the phalanx; in the third, the auxiliaries armed after the Roman fashion, among whom were many fugitive Italians.[1] Between the chariots and the phalanx,



Chæronea.[2]

Archelaus and Taxiles had placed 15,000 slaves enfranchised by public decree in the cities of Greece.[3] Thus provincials, Italians, slaves, all the revolters against Rome were represented in this army of Mithridates.

[1] *Mixtis fugitivis Italicæ gentes, quorum pervicaciæ multum fidebat.* (Front., *Strateg.*, i. 3, 17.)

[2] Belle, *Voyage en Grèce.* (*Tour du Monde*, 1877, pt. 841, p. 97.) Chæronea is now but a small hamlet, Kapurna. The remains of the theatre can yet be seen, "one of the rudest in Greece, whose stiff, narrow, and inconvenient seats are cut in a hard, flint rock." [The walls of the great acropolis, called Petrachus, are however very fine and well preserved.—*Ed.*]

[3] Plutarch, Sylla, 18.

As soon as the Romans appeared on the crest of Mount Thurium, the affrighted barbarians would have fled, but upon that steep slope the rocks and stones sent down by the legionaries overtook and crushed them; they fell one upon another, wounded with their own weapons, and many perished without being able to strike a blow. Those who succeeded in reaching the plain were cut in pieces by Murena, or fell in among the Pontic army, arresting its march and bringing it into disorder. The scythe-armed chariots began an attack, but embarrassed by the palisades, could get no headway. "As an arrow shot feebly from the bow falls useless, the first chariots sent forward without vigour, are repulsed without difficulty, and the Romans call out for more, amid laughter and applause, as they would have done in witnessing races in the circus."

A *Veles*.[1]

This gaiety was of ill omen for the Asiatics. At the moment of receiving the Roman onslaught they closed their ranks and lowered their long lances, imitated from the Macedonian sarissæ; but before his first line reached this dense mass, Sylla rained upon them the darts of the skirmishers (*velites*) and all the projectiles with which his second line was supplied. Thus gaps were produced in the line; then, Sylla advanced his legionaries, who, as at Pydna, pushed aside the pikes or stepped over them fighting hand to hand.

The adversaries of Rome had learned nothing by their defeats. Mithridates had not been able to find anything better than this order of battle, whose inefficiency should have been made evident to him by three defeats in a century; Cynoscephalæ, Magnesia, and Pydna. Of the 120,000 Asiatics gathered at Chæronea, 10,000 escaped to Chalcis with their leaders. The conqueror boasted that

[1] From the arch of Septimius Severus.

he had not lost fifteen soldiers,[1] a stupid falsehood, since it gives the impression that his enemy was contemptible; this did not however appear so to the ancients, for in their eyes, to gain a battle without loss was a signal proof of the protection of the gods; and to be regarded as a favourite of heaven was a special object of ambition with Sylla. Nowadays men believe less in fortune, and more in the leader's talent.

Mithridates at once set about gathering a new army. He had promised Asia a milder rule; but he overwhelmed the country with taxes and requisitions. Conspiracies were formed, which he sought to smother in blood. The tetrarchs of Galatia were invited

Dying Galatian.[2]

to a banquet, and murdered, as well as their wives and children. He confiscated their property, and suppressed this form of government, always a favourite with the Gauls, imposing upon them one of his satraps as king;[3] some of them however had made their escape; they collected troops, drove out the royal garrisons, and Mithridates saw a dangerous war break out in his rear. At Chios, he compelled the people to give him 2,000 talents; then under the pretence that the amount was not complete, one of his admirals carried off all the inhabitants and landed them on the Pontic coast; at Adramyttium he caused the senators of the town to be all put to death. Tralles, Metropolis, Pergamus, Ephesus even, alarmed at the fate of Chios, massacred the king's officers

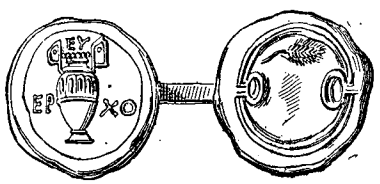
[1] Appian (*Mithr.*, 45) says fifteen were missing, but two of them came in later.

[2] Or gladiator, at Venice. (*Musée Saint-Marc*, vol. ii. pl. 46.)

[3] So at least Sylla said in his Memoirs. Cf. Plut., *Sylla*, 19, and App., *Mith.*, 45.

and closed their gates.[1] To arrest the defection of the others, Mithridates granted to debtors release from their debts; to foreigners established in the cities, the rights of citizenship; and to slaves, emancipation. Having thus secured to himself a powerful party among the populace of each city, he ruled by terror over the nobles and the rich. Informers, encouraged by him, announced daily some new conspiracy; plots were formed in his very court, and in a short time sixteen hundred accused persons were put to death with tortures. Mithridates had succeeded in making the Greeks of Asia regret the rule of the Roman proconsuls.

Sylla was still at Thebes, celebrating his victory by games and festivals, when he learned that Valerius Flaccus who had succeeded Marius in the consulship, was crossing the Adriatic with a large army. At the same time, a general of Mithridates, Dorylaus, arriving from Asia with 80,000 men, landed at Chalcis.[2] Between two dangers, Sylla chose the more glorious one, and marched against Dorylaus who was advancing rapidly into Bœotia with a large force of cavalry. "Of all the plains in Bœotia this alone," says Plutarch, "which commences from the city of Orchomenus, spreads out unbroken and clear of trees to the edge of the fens in which the Melas loses itself. Archelaus advised delay in order to exhaust the resources of the enemy; but Dorylaus reproached him with his recent defeat, as if it were treason, and was eager to fight. Sylla took up a position facing the Asiatic



Coin of Orchomenus.[3]

[1] Smyrna, Sardis and Colophon followed this example. In 1862, M. Waddington (*Inscr. de l'Asie min.*, No. 136) found an inscription containing a declaration of war of the Ephesians against the king of Pontus, and the decrees designed to give more vigour to the defence, such as the abolition of debts secured by notes of hand, the removal of debtors' incapacities, etc. Eight years later Mr. Wood discovered in the ruins of Ephesus a legal fragment (ninety-eight lines), the longest text of the kind which has come down to us in Greek. This fragment, of later date than the peace imposed by Sylla upon Mithridates, relating however to mortgages which had become extremely numerous in consequence of the enormous burdens imposed upon the cities, is a document throwing much light upon Greek legislation in respect to debts. See R. Dareste, *Revue historique du droit français et étranger*, 1877, p. 161–175.

[2] Licinianus says 50,000.

[3] EPXO EY, commencement of the city's name; and monogram. Diota or vase. On the reverse, a Bœotian buckler, and an ear of corn. Silver coin of Orchomenus.

army, and to hinder the movements of the cavalry, he cut the plain with ditches, leaving free only that part which led towards the marshy ground, in the hope of seeing them entangled there. His soldiers were actively employed in the trenches when Dorylaus fell upon them with immense force, dispersed the labourers, and

Ruins of Orchomenus.[1]

the supporting troops, and for a moment put the Roman army in peril. Sylla was obliged to stake his life to check the panic. Leaping from his horse and seizing a standard, he rushed in

[1] Guhl and Koner, *das Leben d. Gr. u. Röm.*, fig. 70. Acropolis of Orchomenus built upon an isolated rock. [The famous "treasure-house of the Minyæ," a prehistoric sepulchre described by Pausanias, has been lately exhumed and described by Dr. Schliemann, in the *Hellenic Journal*, vol. ii. Unfortunately the bee-hive roof, covered with an artificial hill, had fallen in a few years before his excavations.—*Ed.*]

among the fugitives, crying out: "When they ask you where you abandoned your general, remember to say it was at Orchomenus!" These words brought them to a stand, and two cohorts from the right wing coming to his aid, he drove back the enemy, and then brought his troops into camp, where he caused them to rest and take food. Confidence and order being re-established, he sent them again to the trenches, and, after a second and violent combat, he succeeded, towards evening, in driving the enemy back into their camp. On the next day, as soon as it was light, he resumed his approaches, and on being attacked, routed the Asiatics, and pursued them to their camp, which he took by storm. A general massacre ensued, and the marshes and lake were filled with dead bodies.[1] Two centuries and a half later, bows and breast-plates and swords continued to be found there, buried deep in mud. The Asiatic army was annihilated.

Thebes, whose fidelity had been for a time doubtful, and three other Bœotian cities, shared the fate of Athens (85), and the whole of Greece trembled.

Whilst Sylla was gaining this second victory, Flaccus had advanced into Asia; but, on his way through Thessaly, he could not prevent a large number of soldiers deserting from his army to join that of Sylla. Threatened by two armies and having lost his own, Mithridates secretly endeavoured through Archelaus to make terms with the conqueror; proposing to furnish Sylla with money, troops and ships, to secure his return into Italy, if the Roman general would promise to him the undisturbed possession of Asia.[2] Sylla required the restitution of all the king's conquests, and of all captives and fugitives; the payment of 2,000 talents; the restoration to their respective countries of all exiles, Chiotes and others; and the gift of seventy brass-beaked galleys.[3] These conditions were moderate since they merely established the *status quo*, and left unpunished the king's massacres. Each day, however, new refugees from the Roman proscriptions were taking

[1] [In these same marshes the infantry of the grand Catalan Company destroyed the flower of the Frankish chivalry then ruling Greece, A.D. 1310. (Cf. Finlay's *Greece*, vol. iv. p. 150.)—*Ed.*]

[2] Archelaus perhaps sold himself to Sylla, who gave him great estates in Eubœa, 10,000 plethra. (Plutarch, *Sylla*, 23.)

[3] Plut., *ibid.*, 22; Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxiii.

shelter with Sylla, and he needed peace, provided he could obtain it with honour. While the king deliberated, the Roman general led his army into Thrace, for the purpose of punishing those tribes who, as allies of Mithridates, made constant raids into Macedon. This expedition, which brought him nearer Asia, was nearly concluded, when the king of Pontus made reply that he would consent to everything except the furnishing of the galleys and the relinquishment of Paphlagonia; implying that he could obtain better terms than these from Fimbria.

That general had killed the consul Flaccus at Nicomedia, taken command of the consular army, and was carrying on war on his own account. He had defeated a son of Mithridates, and advanced rapidly as far as Pergamus, whence the king had scarcely time to fly. Lucullus, whom Sylla during the siege of Athens had directed to collect vessels from Egypt, Phœnicia, Cyprus and Rhodes, was cruising in these waters with a fleet, but he suffered the king to escape him. It was an act of treason towards Rome, for the capture of Mithridates at that time would have saved her twenty years of sacrifices and anxieties. But Lucullus was true to his party; it could not be endured that a Marian should have the honour of terminating the war. Fimbria revenged himself upon Ilium, which he destroyed for having sent an embassy to Sylla; and he then gave up to the rapacity of his soldiers Mysia, the Troad, and Bithynia.[2] Mithridates hoped to profit by the rivalry of these chiefs; but Sylla feigned indignation: "I thought to have seen him prostrate at my

Turreted Head from Cyprus.[1]

[1] Figurine of the terra-cotta in the museum of the Louvre. (Heuzey, *Figurines*, etc. pl. 157.)

[2] Diod., *fr.* 131; Appian, *Mithrid.*, 53.

fect to thank me," he said, "for leaving him so much as the right hand which has murdered so many Romans. When I come over into Asia he will speak another language." Mithridates did in fact humiliate himself, and beg for an interview, which took place at Dardanus in the Troad. The king had with him 20,000 foot soldiers, 6,000 horse, a great number of scythe-armed chariots, and 200 vessels on the sea. Sylla was accompanied only by four chariots. But when Mithridates advancing to meet him held out his hand, Sylla asked, first of all, whether he were ready to accept the offered terms; and as the king made no answer, "How is this?" said the Roman; "ought not the petitioner to speak first and the conqueror to listen?" Mithridates finally found it best to submit to everything; and at the close of the interview, set sail at once for Pontus. Fimbria was at this time in Lydia; Sylla marched against him and as his soldiers went over to Sylla, Fimbria in despair took his own life (84).

Mithridates being driven out of the province of Asia, Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes once more established in their kingdoms, and the troops of Fimbria being won over, nothing now remained but to pay the soldiers the rewards of victory and punish the province. Many cities were sacked and destroyed, others beheld their walls thrown down and their citizens sold into slavery or put to death. The slaves whom Mithridates had liberated were sent back to their masters, and the invaded lands restored to their original owners. It was a new social revolution. After the military executions followed exactions of every kind. The army was distributed through the cities and quartered upon the inhabitants. Each soldier was to receive from his host sixteen drachmæ daily (about eleven shillings), with supper for himself and as many friends as he chose to bring; each centurion fifty drachmæ, with a suit of garments for the house, and another for the street. Finally Sylla convoked the deputies of the province at Ephesus, and declared to them, in terms that permitted no hesitation, that the province would be required to pay immediately the taxes of the five years past since the defection, amounting to 20,000 talents,[1] the expenses of the war, and whatever sums

[1] Appian, *Mithrid.*, 61–63; Plutarch, *Sylla*. 25; *Luc*,, 4. The allies, in 1815, made similar requisitions in the provinces of France (Vaulabelle, *Hist. des deux Restaur.*, iii. 345); and in

might be necessary for the reconstruction of the province. Money being extremely scarce after so many pillages, the cities gave their theatres and gymnasia and even their walls and gates in pawn to the usurers. This settlement cost Asia more than £24,000,000, but Sylla was paying in advance the soldiers who were to fight for him in the Civil war.

the war of 1870–71, the Prussians exceeded the exactions which had hitherto been cited as the most memorable instances of the arrogance of the conqueror.

A Greek Warrior, from a painted Vase.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE FIRST CIVIL WAR.

I.—First Year of the Civil War (83).

FROM Asia, Sylla had announced to the senate his victories and treaty with Mithridates, and had made no mention of personal grievances or of revenge. When, however, he had crossed from Ephesus to Greece, and was now upon the shore of the Adriatic, having with him 40,000 veterans[1] so devoted to his interests that they even offered him their own money to fill his military chest,[2] he changed his tone, and sent a second message to Rome, in which he recapitulated the services he had done his country and the reward he had received for them—his property confiscated, his friends assassinated, himself proscribed. He was now coming, he said, in order that his enemies, and the enemies of the Republic, should receive the punishment due to their crimes. With the design of separating the Italians from Cinna, he ended by promising to respect the rights of the new citizens. "All honest men, he said, whether citizens of early or of recent date, had nothing to fear from him."

This threatening letter filled the senate with alarm. It essayed the only policy left for it, that of mediator. Upon the proposition of Valerius Flaccus a deputation was sent out to endeavour to pacify Sylla[3] and bring about an agreement, in which the senate should be arbiter; at the same time a decree forbade the consuls to continue their preparations for war. Cinna and Carbo

[1] Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 79) gives him in addition 1,600 vessels, and Plutarch 1,200.

[2] They also renewed to him their military oath. (Plutarch, *Sylla.*)

[3] Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxiii.; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, 77. Sylla received the deputation kindly, and asked only the recall of those who had been banished, the restitution of their property, and an indemnity for the losses they had undergone.

paid no respect to this decree. They continued to collect soldiers, provisions, and money, everywhere declaring that their cause was that of the new citizens. The Samnites and Lucanians, who had not yet laid down their arms, promised to support the consuls, but when Cinna prepared to send into Greece the army thus collected,

Figurine of Tanagra: Woman playing with Huckle-bones.[1]

a sedition broke out, and he was murdered at Ancona by his own soldiers (84).

Carbo, left alone in office, resorted to the desperate measures of a demagogue at bay. He created still more new citizens,[2] whom

[1] This charming terra-cotta of Tanagra has the peculiarity of having been burnt upon the funeral pile of the dead with whom it was interred. It represents a girl playing with dice or with huckle-bones, a favourite game among the Greeks. (Cf. François Lenormant, *Gazette archéol.*, 1879, p. 86, pl. 14.

[2] MM. Drumann and Keferstein (*de Bello Mars.*) are of opinion, notwithstanding the distinct language of Livy (*Epit.*, lxxxiv.), that it was a question solely of *das Gesindel* . . . .

he distributed, with the freedmen, through the thirty-five tribes; he allowed the tribune Popillius Lænas to throw from the Tarpeian Rock a former tribune and to expel from Rome all his colleagues, causing them to be forbidden fire and water;[1] finally he wrested from the senate an order disbanding the armies, thus giving himself an opportunity to accuse Sylla of treason in case he should disobey. For sole reply the latter crossed the Adriatic (83).

From Ephesus, Sylla had come in three days to Athens, whence he had taken the route by Tanagra and Thermopylæ into

Bas-relief of Dyrrachium: Dalmatian Warriors or Gladiators.[2]

Thessaly and Macedon, for the purpose of reaching the *via Egnatia* leading to Dyrrachium, that is to say, the point whence he could most easily cross into Italy. He had, however, a fleet of 1,200 vessels and might have gone by sea more rapidly and with less fatigue, but the Romans were extremely reluctant to quit the

Fremde und entlaufene Sclaven, for, they say, all the allies were possessed of citizenship already. It is the same error to which I have before referred.

[1] Vell. Paterc., ii. 24; Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxiv.; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 82.

[2] Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 30.

land, and his empty fleet only came round to await him in the great Epirote harbour.[1]

He was not without anxiety as regards landing, but Brundusium, which Carbo should have defended and garrisoned, opened her gates. As an expression of his gratitude he exempted the city from customs, and three centuries later Appian says, "The city still enjoys this privilege."[2] Usage permitted the Roman general to preserve his military authority, *imperium*, and his army until they entered the city. Sylla appeared, therefore, to have a regular title and a legitimate power, notwithstanding the sentence of outlawry that had been passed upon him in the comitia. Metellus also kept his title of prætor, and these appearances of legality were of importance to men who really had no rights on their side but the sword. This Metellus, expelled from Africa, where he had taken refuge during the proscriptions of Marius, had concealed himself among the mountains of Liguria. At the news of Sylla's arrival he hastened to Brundusium to put at the service of the latter his talents and the hatred which the son of Numidicus cherished against those who had proscribed his father. Sylla accepted his offer, and recognized him as a colleague.

The five legions of Sylla appeared a very feeble force in presence of the 450 cohorts of the enemy.[3] But they were veteran bands opposed to new levies; and, moreover, he was alone in his camp, while the Marian party had fifteen generals—Scipio and Norbanus, consuls at that time; Carbo, who had no more talent as a general than as a party leader; Brutus, Cælius, Carinas, and others. Sertorius as yet was but a subordinate. Most of the Italians were in favour of Carbo; the cities of Greek origin, however, a few Cisalpine tribes, the Piceni, and the Marsian confederation, which was always a rival to the Samnite league, showed hostile intentions. The Marian party chose to demand

[1] Detained at Athens by an illness, he passed the winter of 84–3 in Greece. (Plut., *Sull.*, 26.)

[2] This statement confirms what we learn from many other sources in respect to the long persistence, in spite of frequent revolutions, of the terms made by Roman generals with nations and cities.

[3] Plut., *Sylla*, 27. Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 82) says 200, of 500 men each, which is more probable, but he adds that later the number increased. The five legions of Sylla, with the auxiliaries, numbered perhaps 40,000 men.

hostages, and at once many cities refused. "Do you know," Carbo said to a magistrate of Placentia who resisted his orders, "do you know that I have plenty of swords?" "But I," replied the old man calmly, "plenty of years."[1]

All this augured well for Sylla, and the severe discipline in his army at once gained the good will of the country through which he passed. The nobility everywhere were naturally favourable to him. Crassus, who had lived for eight months hidden in a cave, Cethegus, Dolabella, and M. Lucullus, the brother of Sylla's quæstor, all brought to his party the distinction attached to their names. The proscriptions set on foot by the younger Marius against the most illustrious of the senators completed the work of making Sylla's cause that of the Roman aristocracy.

The most important aid came to him from a young man, as yet unknown, the son of Pompeius Strabo, afterwards Pompey the Great. The Marian party had disturbed this young man in his possession of the vast estates his father had acquired during a long command in Picenum. He was called upon to make restitution of the spoils of Asculum, which Strabo, it was said, had appropriated. A suit followed, gained by Pompey, but he never forgot that his ruin had been attempted. When he learned that Sylla had arrived in Italy, he raised a volunteer corps among his shepherds and tenants, defeated several detachments, and by these victories so increased his band that he was able to form from it three legions, which he placed at the service of Sylla. He was at this time only twenty-three years of age. The first time that he appeared before the pro-consul the latter received him with great respect and saluted him as *imperator*, a title giving this young man the rights of the military *imperium*, and confirming him in an independent command.

An unexplained event at this time threw the city of Rome into consternation. On the 6th of July, 83, a fire destroyed the Capitol, and not even the Sibylline books were saved.[2] This destruction of the sanctuary of the Republic, and of the oracles which were believed to give to the senate the secrets of divine

[1] Plut., *Pomp.*, 6; *Crass.*, 6; Val. Max., VI. ii. 10.

[2] *Custodum negligentia*, says Cassiodorus in his chronicle. (*ad Ann.*, 670.)

wisdom, appeared to many as the announcement of a new rule. In fact, *the time was come, and the man.*[1]

From Apulia, Sylla passed without opposition into Campania, "requiring his soldiers to respect harvests, persons, and cities." In a civil war the first successes are important because they decide the irresolute and place public opinion on the side of the conqueror. Sylla, "by turns lion and fox," neglected nothing that could secure this advantage. The goddess Enyo renewed to him her promises of victory, and many good omens encouraged his soldiers.

At Rome men remembered the proscriptions of Marius, and dreaded those of Sylla, feeling well assured that he also in his turn would desire "ruins and massacres, punishments and conflagrations."[2] And so the more violent partisans had been for the moment set aside, and for the year 83 L. Scipio, great grandson of the conqueror of Antiochus, and C. Norbanus had been installed in the curule chairs, two inefficient persons,[3] but representatives of that moderate party which in extreme crises always supplies victims.

A Cupid Bird-catcher.[4]

With one of the two consular armies Norbanus covered Capua; Scipio with the other advanced as far as the neighbourhood of Teanum. Sylla threw himself between the two, and killed 7,000 men of the army of Norbanus, while the remainder fled for shelter into Capua and Naples, and he then hastened to meet Scipio. This time, instead of attacking at once, he proposed a truce and a conference; the two chiefs met, both men of old family and having the same interests at heart. The interview was amicable; Sylla

[1] It was the sign," says Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 83), "announcing the carnage of citizens, the sack of Italy, the servitude of Rome, and the annihilation of the Republic." (Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.*, vi. 12, and *Hist.*, iii. 72.)

[2] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 82.

[3] Cic. (*de Off.*, ii. 14) says of Norbanus: *Seditiosus et inutilis civis.*

[4] From a gem (enlarged).

prolonged it, and while the generals were discussing conditions of peace the soldiers of Sylla mingled freely with those of the consular army, relating their campaigns and showing the gold that they had gained under a general always lucky and always liberal. Vainly did Sertorius warn Scipió of the danger that he was incurring; the negotiations continued. When Sylla at last suddenly broke off the armistice, the army of Scipio to a man went over to Sylla.

Scipio was left at liberty to depart. Sylla had taken the consul's measure and believed that he had nothing to fear from him. It might have been expected that after this double success he would carry forward his operations rapidly, and shortly present himself under the walls of Rome. But though master in Campania, he had not yet occupied all the cities; his adversaries held Nola, Capua, and Naples, and bad news came in to him from various points. In his rear and on his flank the Lucanians and Samnites were in arms. At Rome the defeat of the consuls had restored influence to the revolutionary party, and they raised to the consulship in the year 82 Carbo, formerly the colleague of Cinna, and Marius, the adopted son of the conqueror of the Cimbri, both illegally elected, for one had too recently relinquished the consular insignia, while the other, being but twenty-seven years of age, had no right to assume them. But can we say that laws existed at this time?

II.—Second Year of the Civil War (82).

A severe winter delayed the resumption of military operations, and the consuls employed the time in organizing their resistance. They despoiled the temples of their wealth, melted down the gold and silver offerings of victory or devotion, and thus obtained 14,000 pounds of gold and 6,000 pounds of silver, having a value of about £60,000. With these resources they made great levies of men in the Cisalpina, where were always swords for hire, and in Etruria, whose rural population, half slaves under the lucumons, allied their cause to that of the party wishing to enfranchise all the Italians. The Samnites understanding that the final struggle

was approaching, promised to come down from their mountains and fight in the Latin plain. To confirm this promise the young chief Telesinus came with some of the bravest of his compatriots and joined the consular army. Rome, terror-struck, yielded to everything; the frightened senate authorized by a decree the pillage of the temples; the comitia proscribed those senators who had fled to the camp of Sylla, and a man of savage temper, the prætor Damasippus, had already marked out for death certain of the moderate party, whom he proposed to sacrifice to the *manes* of his friends before the arrival of the conquerors. It was a sanguinary war.

Carbo and Marius divided the defence; the former was to close the roads from the Apennines on the side of Umbria and Picenum, through which countries Metellus and Pompey were advancing, the latter to protect Latium against Sylla, who was approaching through Campania. Marius had made Præneste the depot of his munitions. Built upon a spur of the Apennines which juts out 1,200 feet high into the Roman campagna, Præneste with provisions and a strong garrison was impregnable. Norba, the city with indestructible Cyclopean walls, was occupied by an equal force.[1] From Præneste, Marius commanded the Latin road, and from Norba the Appian. To prevent the enemy from making his way between the two he established himself in a central position at Signia, which from its elevated site commanded the right bank of the Trerus (the *Sacco*), the principal affluent of the Liris; he hoped thus to close all the approaches to Rome.

Before the coming on of winter Sylla had occupied the defile of Lautulæ, the gateway from Campania into Latium. As soon as it was possible to recommence operations he advanced towards Setia, in the country of the Volsci, while his lieutenant, Cn. Dolabella, ascended the Liris and then the Trerus.

Marius attempted to save Setia, but without success, and then, pressed hard by his adversary, fell back upon his camp at Signia. Meanwhile Dolabella was making his advance felt, and threatening to turn the left of Marius, upon which the latter, not to be cut off from Præneste, retreated to Sacriportus in the plain, where the

[1] See vol. i. p. xlvii, "The walls of Norba."

Volscian hills end and the first heights of the Apennines begin. The Syllan army, fatigued by a long march in the rain, were preparing to encamp when the Marian troops attacked them. The veterans formed rapidly, and very soon got the better of the recruits whom Marius had hurled upon them with more spirit than discretion. A part of his right wing went over to the enemy; the centre and the left were routed, and were pursued as far as

Wall of Præneste.[1]

Præneste, when the garrison closed their gates against the fugitives, fearing lest pursuers and pursued should rush in together, and Marius only obtained entrance by means of a rope thrown down to him over the wall.

The army destined to defend Rome on the south had ceased to exist; all the way from Sacriportus to Præneste their dead bodies strewed the plain; 20,000 men had been killed, 8,000 were

[1] Dodwell, *Pelasgic Remains*, pl. 113.

prisoners, and the remainder were fugitives or cowered trembling behind the walls of Prænestе. To the latter Sylla made clear the fate that awaited them; all the Samnites found among the captives were led out under the walls and put to death in view of the besieged. But at this very moment Marius was avenging them. From the battlefield of Sacriportus an emissary had been sent off to Rome bearing to Damasippus the order for massacre. The prætor convoked the senate, and when the Conscript Fathers were assembled he surrounded the curia with a band of assassins, designated the victims, directed them to be murdered on the spot, and, pursuing them even beyond death, ordered their bodies to be thrown into the Tiber, that the repose of the tomb should be denied them. The pontifex Maximus, Quintus Scævola, who had once escaped the poniard of Fimbria, perished in this last convulsion of the expiring Marian party. When urged to join Sylla, Scævola had said that he would not break through the gates of Rome and return thither sword in hand. In the midst of the fury of party strife, men like these were the last representatives of the Republic and of liberty.[1]

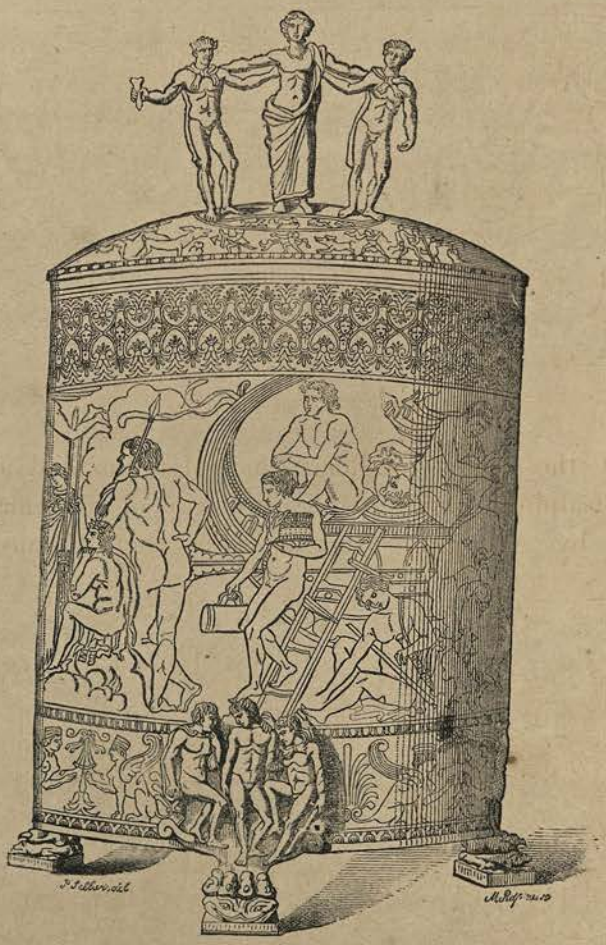
On news of what had occurred, Sylla, leaving Lucretius Ofella before Prænestе, hastened his march upon Rome. His troops advanced by different roads, each detachment directed towards one of the city gates, and all under orders in case of repulse to fall back upon Ostia, where his fleet lay in harbour. But there was no resistance; the same brutal and cowardly rabble which had dragged through the streets a day before the corpses of Sylla's friends, now welcomed Sylla himself with noisy acclamations.

The army of the north had been no more successful than that of the south. Sylla merely passed through Rome and hastened to meet in Etruria the other consul, whom Metellus and Pompey had already defeated in Umbria. Carbo encamped near Clusium, with his Italians and the troops that he had obtained from Spain and the Cisalpina.[2] A first battle lasted all day long without decided result. This engagement was almost a success for

[1] Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxvi.; Cic., *ad Fam.*, ix. 21.

[2] Some of these Spaniards having gone over to Sylla, Carbo caused the rest to be murdered About the same time a Syllan general entered Naples, and all who could not flee were put to the sword.

Carbo, for while he thus drew the principal strength of Sylla's army into the centre of Etruria, Lamponius at the head of the Lucanians, Pontius Telesinus with the Samnites, and the Campanian Gutta at last took an active part in the struggle, coming up from the south with 40,000 men. Carbo detached eighty



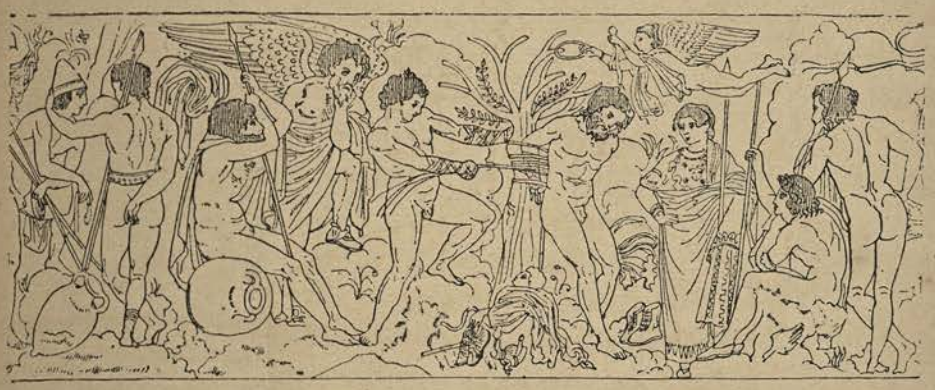
Chest of Præneste.[1]

cohorts to effect a junction with them, and the whole force were to throw themselves upon the lines of Ofella and raise the siege of Præneste, where famine was already raging. But Sylla had seized

[1] "The heroes have landed and drawn the vessel up on the shore. Some have been exploring the island, and have discovered a spring of pure water, but the giant Amycos, the king of the Bebryces, forbids them to approach it; Pollux defies him to single combat, and having conquered him, binds him to a tree; a Victory is flying towards the conqueror, holding a crown;

upon the defiles opening on Præneste, and nothing could pass; the eighty cohorts, surprised by Pompey among the mountains, were dispersed, and Marcius, their leader, brought back only seven to his general.

The situation of Carbo was becoming critical. Sylla and



Details of the Chest of Præneste.

Pompey barred the access to Rome, and Metellus had anticipated him in the Cisalpina, arriving there by way of Ravenna, passing with his fleet by Ariminum, the depot of the Marians. Carbo,

Details of the Chest of Præneste.

however, succeeded in making a junction with Norbanus, who was in command in the valley of the Po. Hoping with their united

Athene, or Minerva, figures among the witnesses of the struggle, and opposite her is seen a man with great wings, who has been identified as one of the winds, whose assistance was necessary to the Argonauts in these waters. The last scene shows the result of the combat, the Argonaut drinking freely of the spring, near which is seated Silenus." (Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, vol. i. p. 417.)

forces to overwhelm Metellus, they attacked him near Faventia, at the distance of a few leagues from Ravenna, but suffered a loss of 10,000 men; after the action 6,000 soldiers deserted from the army of Carbo, and Verres, his quæstor, beginning the career which has made his name notorious, ran away with the treasure. The two chiefs escaped in haste, one to Arretium, the other to Ariminum. In the latter city, one of the officers of Norbanus, Albinovanus, in order to earn his pardon from Sylla, invited to a banquet the principal officers and having murdered them, then went over to the enemy with a legion. Alarmed at these repeated treasons, Norbanus embarked for Rhodes; not long after Carbo sailed for Africa, and Sertorius had already taken shelter in Spain. The leaders of the popular party abandoned Italy, hoping to incite insurrections in the provinces.

Figurine of Apollo.[3]

At this time Pontius Telesinus, Lamponius, and Gutta were meditating a bold stroke.[1] Despairing of being able to force the lines of Lucretius Ofella, which Sylla covered with his whole army, while Pompey was crushing the troops of Carbo near Clusium, they made a dash into the valley of the Anio, probably in the neighbourhood of Sublaqueum, gained the Tiburtine road, and carrying along with them the ex-prætor Damasippus and two generals of the Marian army, Marcius and Carinas, in one night they came within ten stadia of Rome. It was their design to enter the city and to destroy "that lair of wolves, the ravagers of Italy,"[2] and if perish they must, at least to perish beneath her ruins. It is impossible to say what might have been the consequence of this daring enterprise had it succeeded, but they lost time in preparing for the attack, and the delay saved Rome. On the morning of the 1st of November the little garrison that had been left in the

[1] Vell. Paterculus (ii. 27) gives them 40,000 men; Appian and Eutropius, 70,000; Orosius, 80,000.

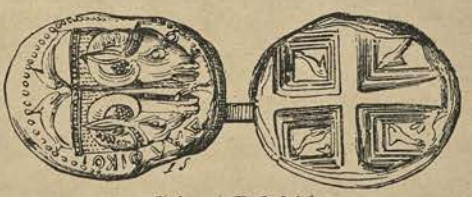
[2] Vell. Paterc., ii. 27: *raptores Italicæ libertatis lupos.*

[3] Apollo, the sun-god, with a crown of rays and wearing a chlamys. Bronze statuette in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2947 of the catalogue.

city made a sortie. Then arrived the cavalry of Sylla, who himself shortly followed with his entire army. At noon they were at the Colline gate, near the temple of Venus Erycina. Without allowing his soldiers a moment's rest he led them against

Etruscan Walls of Volaterræ.

the enemy. This was the one decisive battle of the war, and as if to indicate clearly the interests at stake for the last ten years, it was the very existence of Rome that hung upon the event. There was fighting all day long and during the entire night. The left wing, which Sylla commanded in person, was driven back under the walls of the city whose gates had been closed, and fugitives were fleeing as far

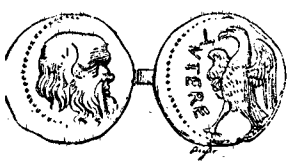


Coin of Delphi.[1]

[1] ΔΑΛΦΙΚΟΙ. Two rams' heads and two dolphins. On the reverse, hollow squares with four dolphins. Unique tetradrachm of Delphi, very ancient. (*Cabinet de France.*)

as the lines at Prænestе, crying out that all was lost, and that Sylla was killed. And, in fact, the general had but narrowly escaped. Mounted upon a white horse, he had ridden in front of his wavering cohorts, when two Samnites recognizing him had flung their javelins at him, and only a start of his horse saved his life. He regarded it as a special favour of heaven, and drawing from his breast a golden figurine of Apollo, which he had carried about him ever since taking it at Delphi, he kissed it devoutly, and thanked the god for his succour. But if he believed in amulets, he believed also that a man must aid himself. The Samnite army, whose lines of retreat had all been cut, was destroyed; only 8,000 prisoners were taken, among them Marcius and Carinas, whom Sylla caused to be put to death; the prætor Damasippus had been slain in the combat. Pontus Telesinus, severely wounded, was also put to death by the conquerors, and even after death his face still bore a look of hate and menace. He was the noblest and last of the children of Italy, and he at least had, for himself and his people, a glorious tomb, a battlefield, heaped with 50,000 corpses, of whom half were Romans.

When the Prænestines saw the heads of these leaders carried on pikes around their walls, and when still further they learned that Pompey had destroyed the army of Carbo, they opened their gates. All the population, except the women and children and the very small number who could appeal to the memory of some service rendered to Sylla in time past, were put to the sword, and the city, one of the richest in Italy, was then given up to the plunder of the soldiery. Marius had hidden himself in a cellar with the brother of Pontius Telesinus; not choosing to be taken alive they fought with one another; Marius killed his friend, and then required a slave to kill him. The few cities that still held out yielded one after another. At Norba the inhabitants, rather than surrender, set their houses on fire and killed themselves. The Samnites did not give up Nola until the



Coin of Tuder.[1]

[1] Head of Pan. On the reverse, TVTERE. An eagle. Bronze coin of Tuder.

year 80, and lost in the retreat the last of their famous chiefs, that Papius Motulus, one of the heroes of the first campaigns, who being repulsed by his wife because he had been proscribed, killed himself on his threshold. Æsernia, Tuder, and Populonia had the fate of Præneste. Volaterræ resisted more than two years longer. The ruined cities and immense wastes in Etruria and Samnium long recalled to succeeding generations that the wrath of Sylla had swept over these countries.

Coin of Populonia.[1]

[1] A wild boar walking over rocks. Silver coin of Populonia. Reverse smooth. (See vol. i. p. lxxvi.) In the *Revue archéol.* Aug., 1879, M. Bompois argues against the opinion that all the Etruscan coins, smooth on the reverse, were of Populonia.

[2] Head of beardless Janus, covered with the *pileus*.

A *sextans* of Volaterræ.[1]

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

CHAPTER XLVII.

DICTATORSHIP OF SYLLA (FROM NOVEMBER 82, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 79).

I.—Proscriptions.

SYLLA belongs to that family of ruthless levellers who in cold blood break and crush in order to unite—the Richelieu of the aristocracy. In the Social war he had struck all the terrible blows; at Chæronea and Orchomenus he had defeated Mithridates, and for the second time conquered the East; at Sacriportus and at the battle of the Colline gate he had destroyed all that was left of the popular and of the Italian parties leagued together against him. He had everywhere asserted the cause of Rome, the unity of the empire, and, without intending it, he had become the avenging arm of the aristocracy. Italians and provincials, factions, tribunes, and demagogue consuls had all felt the weight of his arm. From the banks of the Tiber to Mount Taurus reigned silence and terror. There was no longer a people, a senate, a constitution; there was one man at the head of 120,000 soldiers.

After having broken everything down, this man proposed to reconstruct. In order to lay a solid foundation, he believed it necessary still further to clear the ground, to pull down whatever fragments were yet standing, to remove every one of the chiefs of that generation which had been nourished in anarchy and brought up in violence. Before renewing institutions he believed that the men must be renewed, and after having long made a parade of an expected moderation, he now adopted cruelty as a policy. Twice France has seen in the most bloody epochs of her history how much more formidable than passion is that cruelty which is the result of logic.

The day after the combat of the Colline gate he harangued the senate in the temple of Bellona. Suddenly death-cries were heard. "It is nothing," he said; "merely the chastisement of some offenders," and he continued his address. At that moment some thousand Samnite and Lucanian prisoners were perishing under the sword.[1] On his return from Præneste he addressed the people publicly, speaking of himself in terms of extravagant laudation, and ended by saying, "Soon, if you are obedient, I will ameliorate your condition,[2] but let none of my enemies, none of those who since the rupture of my truce with the consul Scipio have been opposed to me, hope for pardon." From that day the proscriptions began.

The first blows fell upon the family of Marius. One of these persons, Marius Gratidianus, who had lately done himself honour in the prætorship by the repression of counterfeiting, was pursued by Catiline and murdered with extreme brutality, after which, cutting off his victim's head, the assassin bore it, dripping with blood, to Sylla, and then proceeded calmly to wash his hands in the lustral water of an adjacent temple. Not even the dead were spared; the corpse of the conqueror of the Cimbri was exhumed, given up to insults, and then thrown into the Anio.[3] Before the proscriptions Catiline had killed his brother, and he now caused the latter's name to be put on the lists as an excuse for confiscating his property.

Julius Cæsar, at this time scarcely twenty years of age, was a relative of Marius and Cinna's son-in-law; Sylla sought to compel him to repudiate his wife. A similar order had been obeyed by Piso and even by Pompey, but Cæsar refused to be guilty of such baseness and took refuge in the Sabine mountains, where several times he narrowly escaped death. The tears of his family and even of the vestals at last obtained his pardon. "I let him live," said the all-powerful dictator, "but there is many a Marius in this boy." Such, at least, is the story. Cæsar's honourable refusal, however, announces a character too resolute to

[1] Strabo says 3,000 or 4,000; Orosius, 3,000; Dionysius, 4,000; Plutarch, 6,000; Livy, 8,000 [which shows how these authors deal with numbers.—*Ed.*].

[2] Ὅτι τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐς χρηστὴν ἄξει μεταβολὴν εἰ πείθοιντό οἱ. (App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 95.)

[3] Cic., *de Leg.*, ii. 22; Val. Max., IX. ii. 1; Vell. Paterc., ii. 43; Suet., *Cæs.*, 11; Quint. Cic., *de Petit. cons.*, 2.

be easily bent, and capable, when joined with high ability, of bending to itself both men and circumstances. He found it wise, however, to leave Italy, and went to join the army before Mitylene, which had held out since the time of Mithridates, and while there he earned a civic wreath.[1]

A great number of victims had already perished, when Metellus had the courage to ask Sylla in the senate when this vengeance might be expected to stop. Sylla answered that he did not know. "Tell us, then, whom you will punish," said Metellus, and Sylla rejoined that he would. He prepared a list of eighty names, which he put up in the Forum; on the following day another list of 220 was added, and on the next a third list of as many more. "I have proscribed all those whose names I can remember," he said to the people, "but I have forgotten several; as they occur to me I will add them." Metellus was obliged to be content; there was no longer a random character about the proscriptions; order and legality had been introduced into these murders. Any man could, without risk, make himself the executioner, and to the pleasure of committing a murder join a profit of 12,000 denarii per head. From December 1, 82, to June 1, 81, six long months,[2] murder was authorized, and even later, for Roscius of Ameria was not assassinated until the 15th of September. All who sheltered a proscribed person shared his fate, were he even a brother, a father, or a son. For some of these murders Sylla paid as high as two talents.

From Rome the proscription spread over all Italy; bands of Gallic horsemen, led by Catiline, and other assassins went in search of victims. No place, neither domestic altars nor temples of the gods afforded safety; nor could anything, even services rendered to the cause, protect from a dishonest debtor or an impatient heir. The familiars of Sylla, his freedmen, especially Vettius Picens and that Chrysogonus whose infamy Cicero has immortalized—his slaves even,[3]

[1] Suet., *Cæs.*, 2; Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxix. The city was taken in 80. It is to this epoch that belong his two journeys to the court of Nicomedes III., king of Bithynia, concerning which such ugly rumours were set afloat. Few Romans of the time escaped such accusations, the most odious vice being then general and almost publicly recognized. But Cæsar had other tastes, which ought to have preserved him from this disgrace.

[2] Sylla returned from Præneste in the second half of November, and the lists were put up a few days later. The limit of June 1 is given by Cicero, *pro Roscio*, 44.

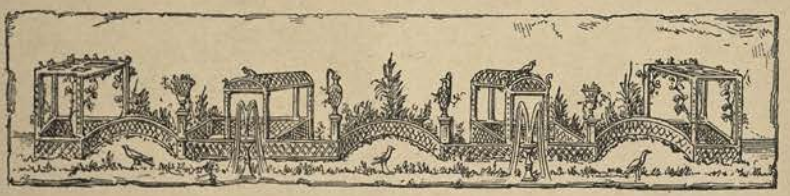
[3] *Terrulæ Scirrhoque, pessumis servorum, divitiæ partæ sunt.* (Sall., *Orat. Lepidi*, in *Hist.*

Tomb of the Pisos (from an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*).

sold the permission to have a name placed upon the fatal

Villa on the Seashore.[1]

list. A citizen, who had always kept himself aloof from factions,



Gardens: *Viridarium.*[2]

coming into the Forum to look at the lists, found his own name. "It is my Alban villa which slays me," he exclaimed, and fled, but was presently struck down by an assassin. The property of those proscribed was confiscated; very frequently Sylla himself sold it to the highest bidder, saying, "These are my spoils." The courtesans, musicians, and jesters by whom he was surrounded bought at nominal prices; the property of Roscius was valued at 6,000,000 sesterces, and Chrysogonus obtained it for 2,000. Metella, the wife of the master, appropriated to herself an enormous share of the confiscated wealth, so that Sylla was able to make

Jester.[3]

fragm.) Neque prius finis jugulandi fuit quam Sulla omnes suos divitiis explevit. (Sall., *Cat.*, 51.) Cf. also Cicero, *II. in Verr.*, iii. 35, and Livy, *Epit.*, lxxx. 9.

[1] Pompeian painting. (Roux, *Hercul. et Pomp.*, iii., 5th Series, pl. 26.)

[2] Pompeian painting. (*Ibid.*, pl. 24–25.)

[3] From a terra-cotta lamp. (Rich, *Dict. of Antiq.*, 307.)

a magnificent offering without impoverishing himself when he gave to Hercules the tenth of his property. Catiline, one of the most dreaded of the *sicarii*, in this universal overthrow repaired his wasted fortune, and Crassus laid the foundation of his wealth. It was a dispossession of the monied class for the benefit of a few nobles and their retainers. The "cut-purses," who had profited so much by the proscriptions of Marius, gave up their ill-gotten gains.[1] Many paid with their fortunes and their lives for the war they had waged upon the nobles from the judicial seats. Pompey having money enough, thanks to the exactions of his father, had no need to soil his hands with these shameful purchases.

Hercules.[2]

Cicero has preserved to us in one of his arguments the living picture of the abominations which he witnessed. He was never a great statesman, but he holds so large a place in the literary history of Rome and, we may say, in the intellectual history of the world, that nothing which he touches should be forgotten.

[1] See p. 587.

[2] Statue in Greek marble from the Giustiniani collection. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 787 and 802 F, No. 1998.)

He was born in October of the year 107,[1] on the beautiful estate possessed by his father, a Roman knight of very cultivated mind, in the neighbourhood of Arpinum, near the junction of the Fibrenus and the Liris.[2] On assuming in 91 the virile toga he became the assiduous pupil of the augur Q. Mucius Scævola, who taught him the civil and pontifical law. At eighteen years of age he made a campaign under Cn. Pompeius Strabo in the Social war,[3] but he had little taste for a military life, he soon returned to his studies in rhetoric and philosophy, and for six years received instruction from the best of the many teachers whom the invasion of Mithridates had driven out of Greece to Rome. After the definitive ruin of the Marian party he ventured to appear in the Forum, and pleaded successively in the civil court for Quinctius, and in the criminal for Roscius of Ameria, thus making his entrance into public life.

As a new man Cicero had no ties with the nobility, and they made him feel in many a passage of arms that subtle haughtiness of the nobleman towards the upstart which wounds so keenly.[4] As he had too much spirit not to retaliate, he boldly ridiculed those men "who take the trouble to be born, and whose fortune comes while they sleep."[5] But his refined instincts removed him still further from the crowd, and this contradiction between his tastes and his birth, together with a want of firmness in his character and his opinions, gave him through life an indecision which has marred his fame. We shall now see him in public life; anon we shall weigh him as a philosopher. At present, in this opening period of his life, we have only to listen to the

[1] Or, according to the Roman calendar, which was at that time nearly three months in advance of the true date, the third day before the nones of January, 106.

[2] "This is my own and my brother's country. Here we sprang from a very ancient stock, and here are our sacrifices, our race, and numerous relics of our ancestors. You see this house; it has been enlarged by our father's care, and here he passed in the study of letters nearly all his life. In this place, during my grandfather's lifetime, and while, according to primitive habits, the house was still as small as that of Curius in the Sabine country, I was born, and there is a nameless charm in this place which reaches my heart and draws me hither. Do we not read that the wisest of men refused immortality for the sake of seeing his Ithaca again?" (*De Leg.*, ii. 1.)

[3] See p. 571.

[4] On the subject of the nobles' contempt for new men, see Sallust, *Jug.*, 73.

[5] *Non idem licet mihi, quod eis, qui nobili genere nati sunt; quibus omnia populi Romani beneficia dormientibus deferuntur.* (*II in Verr.*, v. 70.)

orator. His eloquence was never that of the politician; under the toga of the consul he still preserved the habits of the bar; as a result of too long a training in rhetoric, speaking well was dearer to him than thinking well. His melodious voice charmed by its mere sound, and all the devices of the schools, the commonplaces of philosophy and morality, mingled with sarcasm and with pathos, were sure to rescue the accused, however guilty, from condemnation.[1] Like the great orator Antonius, he was not careful to represent at the bar the most opposite characters. The accuser of Verres was the defender of Fonteius; the man who became the judge and executioner of Lentulus was upon the point of undertaking the defence of Catiline. He admitted that one could help success by trivial falsehoods,[2] and he said, "In pleading we speak as the cause requires, not as our reason dictates."[3] He had all the gifts which are generally thought to make up the perfect advocate.

It has been said that Cicero more than once pleaded with great energy foregone conclusions. This was not the case in the suit of Roscius of Ameria, which involved an attack upon the all-powerful favourite of the dictator, the freedman Chrysogonus. But it is probable the danger was less than we think. Sylla was an able man; he had made his government a fortress, he had no desire that it should become a den of thieves, and Cicero, secured by Metella and by his own powerful alliances, possibly also by the master's own secret connivance, may have incurred in reality no peril.

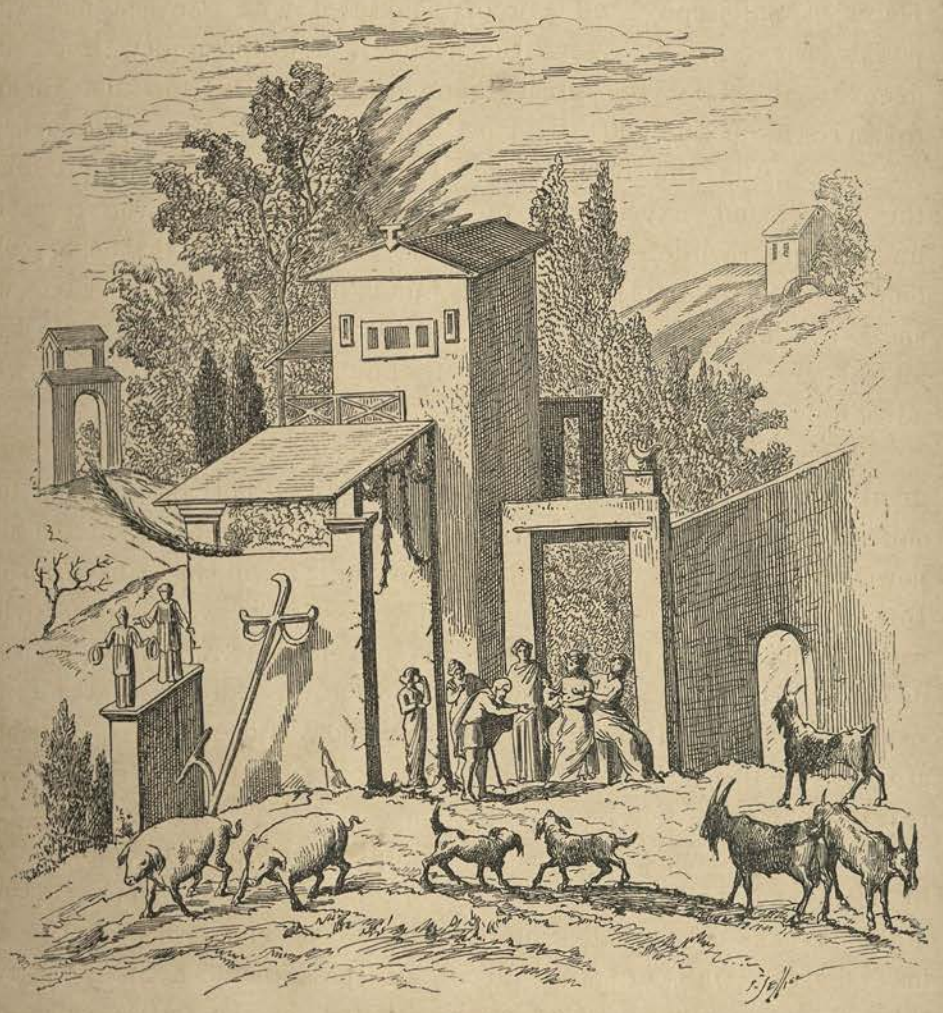
Sextius Roscius, host of the Metelli, Servilii, and Scipios, was by birth and wealth the most important citizen of Ameria. One night he was assassinated at Rome by the emissaries of two of his relatives, who in order to obtain possession of his property, thirteen farms, almost all of them situated in the fertile valley of

[1] He himself in private life was the first to turn all this rhetoric into ridicule. See his letter to Atticus (i. 14): *Nosti . . . . sonitus nostros.* Elsewhere (*ad Att.*, ii, 1) he says: "I have poured into my book all the perfumes of Isocrates, all the essence-boxes of his disciples, and even the cosmetics of Aristotle."

[2] *Perspicitis genus hoc quam sit . . . . oratorium . . . . quod mendaciunculis aspergendum.* (*de Orat.*, ii. 59.)

[3] Two years after his violent invective against Vatinius he undertook to defend him. But, he said: *omnes illæ (orationes) causarum ac temporum sunt, non hominum ipsorum ac patronorum.* (*pro Cluentio*, 50.) The entire paragraph is the development of this idea.

the Tiber, obtained from Chrysogonus the favour of having their kinsman's name put upon the list of the proscribed, although this fatal list had been for some time closed. After the murder the price of blood was divided; three of the best estates were given



A Farm.[1]

to the assassins, and Chrysogonus bought the remaining ten for the nominal price of £2,000. The son of Roscius was in the way, for he might some day reclaim his inheritance; an attempt was made upon his life, but he took shelter in the house of one of

[1] From a painting in the *Museo Borbonico.*

the greatest ladies in Rome, Cæcilia Metella.[1] Unable to reach him in this asylum, they accused him of having killed his father, and no one among the orators of the time dared [or cared] to undertake his defence. This duty was left to an advocate but twenty-six years of age, yesterday unknown, henceforward famous. It appears that Roscius was acquitted of the charge of parricide, but we have no reason to believe that his property was restored to him.[2]

What was the total number of the victims? Appian speaks of fifteen ex-consuls, ninety senators, and 2,600 knights;[3] Eutropius of twenty-four ex-consuls, seven ex-prætors, sixty ex-ædiles, and 200 senators; Valerius Maximus makes the whole number 4,700. "But who can count," says another, "the number of those who were sacrificed to private animosities?"[4]

One fact, accidentally preserved, will show that these things happened in Italy as well as in Rome. To escape from a capital charge a murderer had fled from Larinum, a Marian city, and taken refuge in the camp of Sylla. After the battle of the Colline Gate he returned to his city, assumed the dictatorship there as the representative of the conqueror, and in his turn dispossessed, condemned, and murdered; the man who had been his former accuser was put to death with all his friends and relatives. How many scenes like these must have happened in that multitude of little cities, each of which had, like Rome, its factions, and each, like her, the revenge of the victorious party when its opponents had been overthrown! A veritable reign of terror weighed upon the entire peninsula. To depict it we have no materials, and the horrors of 1793 would give but a feeble idea of what it was.

Coin of Larinum.[5]

[1] Daughter of Metellus Balearicus, who was consul in 123, and sister of Q. Metellus Nepos, consul in 98. (Cic., *pro Rosc.*, 50.)

[2] Cic., *Brutus*, 90; *de Off.*, ii. 14; Plut., *Cic.*, 3. Shortly after, in 79, in the defence of a woman of Arretium, he maintained that the legislative power could not take away certain rights, among others, citizenship, and that the law which had deprived the Italian cities of the *jus civitatis* was unconstitutional and null.

[3] *Bell. civ.*, i. 103.

[4] Flor., iii. 21, 23.

[5] LARINOD. Armed horseman riding to the left, and five small balls. Reverse of a quincunx (or, rather, *pentobolus*), in bronze, of Larinum.

But it is manifest that, within the space of a few months, the champion of the aristocracy caused more blood to flow in his persecution of the popular party than the emperors shed in a war of two centuries against the faction of the nobles.[1]

The proscription did not stop with its victims' death; it struck at their posterity to the third generation. With the design of taking away from the children of these men the hope and the

Spoleto: Temple of Clitumnus.[2]

means of avenging them, the sons and grandsons of the proscribed, deprived of their paternal inheritance, were declared unworthy ever to fill any public office.[3]

In the case of the citizens of Rome the proscriptions were of

[1] *Ultus est . . . . Sulla, ne dici quidem opus est quanta deminutione civium.* (Cic., *in Catil.*, iii. 10.)

[2] From Piranesi, *Opere varie di architettura.*

[3] The sons of senators, while losing the privileges of their rank, remained subject to all its burdens. (Vell. Paterc., ii. 28; Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 41; *pro Cluent.*, 45.)

individuals; like Tarquin, Sylla only struck off the tallest heads; for Italy, however, they were general. Not one Samnite escaped, "for," he said, "Italy cannot be tranquil so long as one man of this people is left alive."[1] The cities which had furnished soldiers to his adversaries were not only deprived of citizenship, but dismantled; some were destroyed, and all despoiled of their lands, which he distributed among his veterans. Sulmo, one of the three capitals of the Pelignians, Spoleto, and Interamna in Umbria, Præneste and Norba, two old Latin cities, and Nola, which still held out when the last of the allies had laid down their arms, were sold at auction.[2] Naples probably at that time lost her island of Ænaria (*Ischia*); Pompeii a part of her territory; Stabiæ the whole of hers. Many others thus paid for Sylla's promises to his army. In Samnium, Beneventum alone remained standing.[3] At Præneste he had ordered all the inhabitants to be brought before his tribunal, but seeing how many there were: "I have no time," he said, "to listen to all these people; it would take too long to pick out the few innocent among so many guilty; let them all die." He was, however, disposed to save the life of one who had been his host. "Life would be hateful to me if I accepted it from the executioner of my country," this noble-minded man exclaimed, and took his place in the crowd whom the soldiers were hurrying away.

Etruria cruelly expiated the assistance she had given to the popular party. The men who had been the leaders of the movement fell under the sword, and the military colonies established by the conqueror very soon changed in many places the entire population. "Then," says Niebuhr, "perished the ancient Etruscan nation, with its science and its literature. Most of the people lost their landed property, and languished in poverty under foreign masters, whose oppression stifled in a degenerate posterity all patriotic memories."

The Latin language and the Roman manners, borne by colonists into districts where the local idioms, traditions, and religions were

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 96.

[2] Florus, iii. 21, 27. In the case of a division of the territory, the original inhabitants and the colonists, *veteres* and *veterani*, formed in the same city two distinct communes. (Cf. Marquardt, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, iv. 450, note 4.)

[3] Strabo, V. iv. 11.

most lively, extinguished the last remnants of them.[1] But before the fusion was complete there were many cases of resistance. The protests of peoples perishing under foreign dominion are called by their conquerors acts of brigandage. The outlaw takes shelter in the mountains, and, supported by the sympathy of his people, struggles long, and we may almost say, honourably. After the immense overthrow and confusion caused by this general expropriation, Italy remained infested with armed bands, as, after the outbreak in the Oriental provinces the sea was covered with pirates. Spartacus and Catiline were soon to essay to rally these two forces, already hostile to the society which they themselves attacked.

The provinces, too, had their proscriptions, and the hand of iron which weighed upon Italy was stretched out over all the empire. Sylla in person undertook to punish Greece and Asia, leaving it to his lieutenants to "pacify" the provinces of the north, the west, and south; Metellus, Cisalpina; Valerius Flaccus, Narbonensis, where the proscribed resisted him in the field;[2] and Pompey, Sicily and Africa. Although habitually moderate, Pompey here showed himself severe. The Mamertines, oppressed by him, claimed their privileges. "Cease," he said to them, sternly, "to talk about laws to one who bears the sword."[3] Carbo had taken shelter in the island of Cossyra, and Pompey caused him to be brought before his tribunal and beheaded, after suffering many insults.[4] This death gave occasion for an eloquent apostrophe on the part of an advocate, Helvius Mancia, the son of a freedman. This advocate's great age and obscure birth had been made by Pompey a subject of ridicule in a case where the latter was a witness. "What," exclaimed Pompey, "is this shade of a slave returned from the infernal regions to set on foot accusations like these?' "Yes," Helvius retorted, "I return from the infernal regions. I saw there Brutus with bleeding breast complaining of thy perfidy, who, contrary to plighted faith, didst cause him to be

[1] The Oscan, as kindred to the Latin, disappeared slowly. When Herculaneum and Pompei were destroyed the Oscan language was not entirely gone. The Etruscan had been sooner lost.

[2] This part of Gaul must have been extremely oppressed at that time, for it made a protracted resistance. Metellus went thither, and Pompey was obliged to go to his aid; Sertorius also found allies there. (Cf. Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 107; *Philippi Orat.*, in Sall., *fragm.*)

[3] Plutarch (in *Pomp.*) says, however, that in Sicily he did as little harm as possible.

[4] Val. Max., VI. ii. 8.

killed; I saw there Carbo, relating how, as a reward for the services he rendered thee in thy youth, for the care he took to preserve to thee thy patrimony, thou hadst loaded him with chains and obloquy, how, despite his prayers, thou, who art but a mere Roman knight, did constitute thyself judge of the chief of the Republic, invested for the third time with the consular office, and didst basely put him to death!" Brutus, another chief of the popular party, stabbed himself to avoid like outrages.[1] Pompey, however, had not the cold and passionless cruelty of Sylla. Himera had joined the opposite party, and it was his intention to chastise the place severely, but the proud answer of a citizen saved it. The young general's soldiers pillaged and used violence; he put his seal upon their swords and punished any one who broke it. Norbanus, the Marian consul of

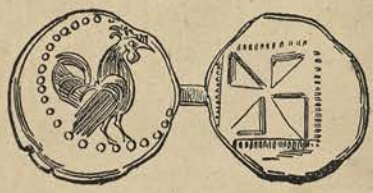
Pompey.[2]

[1] This Brutus is the same person as the prætor Damasippus (p. 683) whose name in full is L. Junius Brutus Damasippus. Sallust (*Cat.*, 51) represents his death as occurring after the battle of the Colline Gate; Livy (*Epit.* lxxxix.), in Sicily.

[2] Rome, Spada palace. This statue was discovered in 1552, near the site of Pompey's theatre. The place where it was found is very near the spot where Cæsar's murder took place; and Suetonius tells us that he had seen Pompey's statue in a palace where Augustus had caused it to be placed. It is possible then that time has respected the colossal statue of Pompey which saw Cæsar fall. (Clarac., *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 911, No. 2316, and Wey, *Rome*, p. 366–7.) Pompey was the first Roman who had a statue in *heroic costume*. It is thus that the Greeks represented their gods and heroes, and Pompey seems to have had the vanity to wish himself

the year 83, had already perished. He had taken refuge at Rhodes, and his head being demanded by Sylla, had killed himself in the market-place to escape being given up.

In Africa a prætor had decreed the enfranchisement of the slaves. This was ruin for the Italian merchants of Utica, and in revenge they had burned the prætor in his house. The province, however, remained faithful to the Marian party. A son-in-law of Sylla, Domitius Ahenobarbus, had organized a defence and persuaded Hiarbas, who had just overthrown Hiempsal, the other king of Numidia, to join his party. But Pompey arrived with 120 galleys, bringing six legions. In a day he defeated the hostile army near Utica, and stormed their camp, where Domitius perished; Hiarbas was taken and put to death, and a march of several days' journey into Numidia, as far as the desert, restored respect for the Roman name among these nomadic tribes.



Coin of Himera[1]

Against Sertorius, master of Spain, the dictator sent the prætor Numius, who drove him out; against the Thracians he despatched the governors of Macedon, Dolabella and Piso; and against the pirates the same Dolabella, the prætor Thermus, and finally the proconsul Servilius Valia. But in Asia, where Murena had recommenced the war against Mithridates, Sylla, who saw around him in the empire itself enough of embarrassments and dangers, forbade his lieutenants to provoke so formidable an enemy.

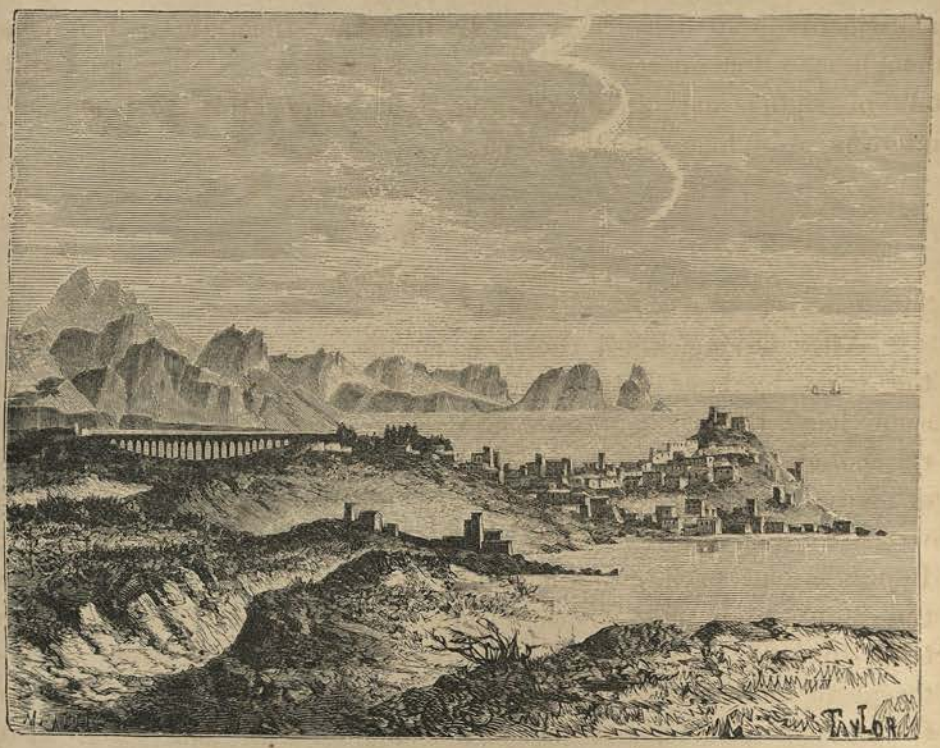
Suffering much from the war, the provinces were still further oppressed by taxes, for the exhausted treasury of Rome must be replenished. Treaties and promises were alike forgotten. All were forced to contribute, not alone the tributary cities, but also those who had gained immunity and independence either by their voluntary submission or by important services; allied nations and friendly kings were constrained to show their zeal by the multitude of their gifts. From one end to the other of the empire

represented during his life-time among the demi-gods, Winckelmann (*Gesch. der Kunst,* xi.) speaks of another statue of Pompey, presented in the villa Castellazo, near Milan, completely made like that of the palace Spada, and believes that it more nearly resembles the original.

[1] Cock; on the reverse, a hollow square. Silver coin of Himera, of very ancient style.

there was no person who did not pay with his blood or with his fortune for this restoration of the old Republic.

Did all this bloodshed, indeed, regenerate the empire? Far from it. The result of so many massacres was only to bring in a reign of soldiers. In exchange for the power which the legionaries had given him, Sylla surrendered to them Italy, the provinces, and, most costly sacrifice of all, discipline. Now the



Ruins of Himera (Termini, *Thermæ Himerenses*) (p. 705).[1]

soldiers knew that desertion might be honourable; that the person of a leader was not sacred; that Rome was not inviolable. Their country was no longer at the foot of the Capitol; it was under the standards, and these standards they were willing to sell to the highest bidder.[2] During these ten years of civil war all the male population of Italy had served in the army. Conquerors or

[1] From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale.*

[2] See the picture drawn by Dion Cassius (*fragm.*, 301) of the insubordination of the soldiers. "Sylla," he says, "was the principal cause of these evils."

conquered, all were alike impregnated with the idea that rights existed only where there was force. The little respect that yet remained for magistrates, laws, and property had been effaced by the proscriptions, and from the universal overthrow one thing alone remained in the minds of all, a conviction of the instability of the present, an indifference in respect to the future, and the need of all men—as during the French saturnalia of the Directory, between the Republic and the empire—to distract themselves in amusements and debauchery. At the same time, this generation, though ripe for anarchy, was not so for slavery. There was still talk of rights and of liberty, and Sylla reigned in the name and interests of a long-established party.

II.—Sylla's Reforms.

After having killed the men by the sword, Sylla tried to kill the party by laws. In order to make laws he chose to assume some legal title. The two consuls were dead; he called together the comitia. Then going away from Rome as if for the purpose of leaving entire liberty of action to the popular assembly, he wrote to the interrex Valerius Flaccus that, in his judgment, the Republic had need of an absolute dictatorship to restore order to the State, and that no one could be more useful in this office than himself.[1] He was obeyed (November, 82), and after an interval of 120 years, the twenty-four lictors were again seen in the Roman streets, and the axes bound up with rods. But what men had never before seen was this: the Roman people, by formal decree, despoiling themselves of all their rights, and giving them into the hands of one man. It was solemnly proclaimed that Sylla's will should be law; that all his acts were ratified in advance;[2] that he should have power of life and death without

[1] The early dictators were chosen for six months only, and their authority did not extend beyond Italy. Appointed for a definite purpose, sometimes not of much importance, they could neither employ the public money at will nor change anything in existing laws or institutions. Manlius who endeavoured to exceed his powers was obliged to abdicate. It was an essentially conservative institution. Sylla, giving laws to his country like Solon and Lycurgus, had nothing in common with the early dictators but the name. (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 98.)

[2] *Ut ipsius* (*Syllæ*) *voluntas ei* (*populo Romano*) *posset esse pro lege* (Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii.

legal proceedings of any kind; that he should have right of confiscating property, of dividing lands, of building or destroying cities, of taking away kingdoms or of giving them, also of appointing proconsuls and proprætors, of conferring the *imperium* upon them, of determining whether he should during the duration of his extraordinary powers be appointed to the higher offices of the State, finally, of fixing at his own will the limit of his term of office. This was the empire before the emperors; Augustus himself was invested with less power than Sylla. Rome accepted this solution of the problem of her destinies for the same reason which led her to applaud the victories of Julius Cæsar and Octavian. Men were so weary of wars and of massacres, so desirous at last to enjoy their lives and property in peace, that many said, "A good king is better than bad laws."[1]

Without using any of the rights with which he had just been invested, and contrary to the ancient usage which suspended the consular office during dictatorships, Sylla allowed the consular elections to take place; in 80 he even filled the office himself, together with the dictatorship, but in 79, being again elected, he declined.

On the 29th of January, 81, he inaugurated his new dignity by a triumph celebrating his victory over Mithridates. There was carried in the procession nothing except pictures of the battles he had gained and statues representing the Greek and Asiatic cities he had taken. But the most illustrious personages in Rome whom he had saved from proscription followed his chariot, crowned with flowers, and their utterances of thanks, in which recurred incessantly the names of "father" and "saviour," showed that it was the party-chief, much more than the victorious general, who celebrated his triumph.

Sylla had been all his life only a soldier; he saw clearly that the world could not be ruled by a popular assembly, stormy and venal, and being much more interested in Rome's power than in her liberty, which, moreover, had now come to be mere license,

35.) Cf. *in Rull.*, iii. 2; Plut., 42. Δικτάτορα ἐπὶ θέσει νόμων . . . . , καὶ καταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας. (App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 99). *Penes quem leges, judicia, ærarium, provinciæ, reges, denique necis et civium et vitæ licentia erat* (Sall., *Hist. fragm.*). The senate also recognized his right to alter the *pomerium*. (Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 23; Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.*, xii. 14; Festus, s. v. *Prosimurium.*)

[1] *Satius est uti regibus quam uti malis legibus.* (Cic., *ad Her.*, ii. 26.)

he sought to make the silence of camps reign in the Forum. But to secure the citizens from constant disturbances, and to provide them with a regular government, he knew no better way than a return to past methods; he believed the aristocracy were now wise enough to use sovereign power with discretion, and he gave it back to them.

We shall present the laws of the dictator not in the uncertain

Personification of Cities going out to meet the Victorious General.[1]

order in which they arose, but according to the different heads under which they may be classed.

The civil war and the proscriptions had decimated the senate. Sylla introduced into it 300 new members, whom the *comitia*

[1] Bas-relief in the Louvre (Clarac., *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 222, No. 301, and catalogue No. 179), found near the Appian Way.

tributa[1] selected from among the wealthier citizens,[2] and to make this assembly the conservative element in the constitution, he restored to them the *judicia*[3] and also the right of preliminary discussion of laws, the judicial power, that is, and the legislative veto; it was, in fact, the abolition of the Hortensian law.[4] He preserved to the senate the right of designating the consular provinces, decided that the governors should remain in their provinces during the senate's pleasure,[5] and, in order to ensure that the senate should be constantly recruited without the aid of the censors, he increased to twenty the number of titular quæstors, their office opening to them the doors of the senate.[6] The suppression of the quinquennial *lectio*, moreover, rendered the office of senator absolutely permanent.

By the increased extent of the empire an enlarged administrative staff was required; instead of six prætors, Sylla caused eight to be appointed, and for them and the consuls he established the rule of proroguing authority. Every year two consuls entered upon their office for the general direction of the government, and eight prætors, of whom two were the original urban and foreign prætors, while the other six were presiding officers of the new tribunals. Their year at Rome being completed, these high functionaries went, as designated by the senate, to govern the two consular and the eight prætorian provinces, accompanied each by

[1] . . . . *L. Cornelius dictator populum joure rogavit, populusque joure scivit* . . . . Such at least are the terms of the *lex Cornelia de XX quæstoribus.* (*C. I. L.*, p. 198.)

[2] Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxix: *Senatum ex ordine equestri supplevit.* Cf. App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 100. On the other hand Sallust (*Cat.*, 37) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (v. 77) state that he appointed the new senators at random, even from among the common soldiers. One sole consideration must have guided him: to place in the senate his own partisans, and to take wherever he could find them, but especially from the wealthier class. In the words of Appian: *ταῖς φυλαῖς ἀναδοὺς ψῆφον περὶ ἑκάστου*, has been seen an entirely new electoral system created by Sylla; but these novelties were not suited to the time, nor had he any taste for them. The vote upon the names proposed by Sylla was but a formality, a ratification of the sovereign will of the dictator.

[3] The prætor drew by lot, to form the jury in each case, a *decuria senatorum*, composed of about forty members. In the prosecution of Cluentius, the *decuria* was reduced by challenges to thirty-two. (Cicero., *pro Cluentio*, 27.)

[4] See vol. i. p. 294.

[5] Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxix.; Vell. Paterc., ii. 32; Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 22; Cic., *ad Fam.*, xv. 9, 14; App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 59.

[6] According to Willems (*le Sénat de la rép. rom.*, p. 232), it was only now that the quæstors obtained full senatorial rights, that is to say, the *jus sententiæ dicendæ*, or the right to express an opinion.

a quæstor. The entire administration, therefore, was derived from the senate and returned into it again. As this body, in whose sessions public affairs were discussed, had still further to fill all tribunals, embassies, and legations, the importance of its functions justified the increase in the number of its members. But even with this increased number, the 600 Conscript Fathers, constituting a permanent senate, master of 60,000,000 of men, formed a narrow oligarchy, who in the future, even more than they had done in the past, considered the Republic as their hereditary patrimony. This senate we shall now see ruling without intelligence, pointing to the triumvirate by its insults to Pompey and its outbreaks of anger against Cæsar, and with its policy, by turns rash and feeble, rendering inevitable that civil war in which it was destined to perish.

As to the people, we need not lament that their sovereignty became an empty show. They had nothing in common with the plebeians of the early days of Rome. The mob of the Forum did not deserve the honour of bearing the grand name and preserving the rights of "the Roman people." The dictator could not, however, destroy the memory of the old doctrine that the sovereign power always resided in the popular assembly, and by the use of this principle an able man might at any time make a breach in the new constitution. The dictator took all possible measures, however, to make of this popular sovereignty an obsolete idol, fitly relegated to silence and darkness.

The tribunes lost the right of proposing any measure to the tribes[1] unless authorized by the senate to do so,[2] and their veto was restricted to matters of private interest, that is to say, they could protect a citizen against the tyranny of a magistrate, but they were no longer able to arrest a measure of government.[3] The exercise of the tribuneship even deprived a man of the right to seek other offices,[4] Sylla judging that ambitious men would avoid

[1] Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxix,: *Tribunorum plebis potestatem minuit et omne jus legum ferendarum ademit.*

[2] As in the case of the law *de Thermensibus* in 71.

[3] Cic., *de Leg.*, iii. 9; *Tribunis injuriæ faciendæ potestatem ademit, auxilii ferendi reliquit.* Cf. Cæsar, *Bell. civ.*, i. 5; and Vell. Paterc., ii. 30. *Imaginem sine re reliquerat.*—[Yet surely this was exactly the restriction which ought to have been restored to restrain the tribunate by any wise legislator.—*Ed.*]

[4] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 100; Asconius, in Cic. *pro Cornel.*, p. 78, edition of Orelli. Suet.

an office which would compel them to relinquish their personal interests.

If the tribunes could no longer address the people,[1] if every measure must be approved in advance by the senate,[2] the *comitia tributa*, in reality, lost their legislative power; reduced to the election of inferior officers, they seemed no longer to exist. In respect to the *comitia centuriata*, it cannot be said that Sylla restored to them, by the integral re-establishment of the *classes*, their aristocratic character of early days. He left to them the legislative authority, but the necessity that every proposed measure should be preceded by a senatus-consultum had the effect of reducing them to a condition of dependence upon the senate.

In electoral matters the people were still further despoiled of the prerogatives they had enjoyed, since the year 104, of appointing the members of the pontifical college, the latter being once more empowered to fill their own vacancies.[3] Sylla did not even leave them the right of epigram, that shadow of liberty in which the crowd and certain minds delight more than in liberty itself, for the penalties of the Ten Tables against lampoons were augmented.

As to the equestrian order, which for fifty years had played so important a part in the State, Sylla took no account of it; not finding it in the old constitution he effaced it from the new.[4] He deprived the knights of the judgeships, and their rights as farmers of the Asiatic revenue were commuted into a definite sum,[5] and expelling them from the fourteen benches that Caius Gracchus had assigned them in the theatres behind the senators, forced them to mingle with the plebeian crowd. The knights thus lost power, fortune, and, which to some of them was a no less serious matter, the privilege of display.

(*Oct.*, 10 and 40) says even that only senators could obtain the tribuneship. Appian was aware of this opinion, which he dares not endorse . . . . *οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν εἰ Σύλλας αὐτῆν [ἀρχὴν] καθὰ νῦν ἐστιν, ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου μετήνεγκεν.* (*Bell. civ.*, i. 100.) It would not have been easy to find, year after year, ten senators who would resign themselves to never rising higher than the tribuneship.

[1] Cic., *pro Cluent.*, 40; *de Leg.*, iii. 9.

[2] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 59.

[3] Asconius, in Ciceronis *in Cæcil.*, 3: *Victore Sulla, spoliatus est populus . . . . arbitrio creandorum sacerdotum.*

[4] Quintus Cicero, in the treatise, *de Petitione consulatus*, speaks of Sylla's prescriptions as specially directed against the knights.

[5] Cic., *ad Quint.*, I. i. 11, 33.

The censorship shared the fate of the equestrian order. In the eyes of Sylla it was a modern magistracy which aspired to dominate the senate itself; he suppressed it, or, rather, he absorbed it into his dictatorship, and did not call for the quinquennial census. From 81 to 70 there were no censors.[1] But the censorship and the knights were to have their revenge. It was by the knights that Sylla's legislation was to be destroyed, and the first censors appointed, nine years after his dictatorship, expelled sixty-four members of his senate.[2]

In order to seem to do something in favour of the people and of the poor, he confirmed the law of Valerius Flaccus, reducing all debts by one-fourth,[3] but only to give himself an excuse for suppressing the distributions of corn, which encouraged the idleness of the people.[4]

Coin of Valerius Flaccus.[5]

He had paid his soldiers for their service in the Civil war by giving up to them an immense amount of booty and numberless slaves, whom they had sold; he gave still further to his 120,000 legionaries, distributed in twenty-three colonies, the most fertile lands of the peninsula.[6] In Lucania, Samnium, and Etruria property changed hands. This was the execution of an agrarian law such as no tribune ever dared to conceive, and the creation of a new people for the new constitution. Like Tiberius Gracchus, Sylla forbade any man to hold more than one lot, with the object of preventing the formation of large estates. He also saw the harm produced by the *latifundia*. But the unfortunate results

[1] *Fasti Capitolini.* Asconius says, in Ciceronis *in Cæcil.*, 3: *Hoc igitur tam triste severumque nomen populi Romani sic oderat ut intermissum esset per plurimos annos.* An anonymous scholiast speaks of a formal suppression: *Tribunos et censores . . . . omnes pro nobilitate faciens sustulit Sulla.* (Schol. Gronov. in *Divin.*, p. 384, ed. Orelli.)

[2] Livy, *Epit.*, xcviii.

[3] See the letter of Mallius, in Sallust, *Cat.*, 33; and Festus, s. v. *Unciaria.*

[4] This, at least, appears proved by the discourse of Lepidus (Sall., *Hist fragm.*): *Ne servilia quidem alimenta reliqua habet,* that is to say, the five *modii* per month which were given to the slaves.

[5] Bust of Victory; on the reverse: C. VA(lerius) FLA(ccus) IMPERA(tor) EX. S. C., legionary eagle between two standards. (Cohen, *Monnaies consulaires*, pl. xl. Valeria, No. 4.)

[6] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 100. From an expression used by Granius Licinianus, *Fæsulani irruperunt in castella veteranorum,* it would seem that Sylla's colonists did not disperse themselves at random through the country, but that they prudently established fortified positions, *castella,* which would serve them for shelter in case of attack from dispossessed owners.

that he obtained showed how chimerical was the hope which he based upon this reconstruction of petty ownership. To replace industrious inhabitants by a demoralized soldiery was not to augment that rural class which had made the strength of the early Republic; it was only the proletariat that was increased by all the victims of this vast expropriation, and with it the perils of the new Republic. In truth, all that Sylla cared to preserve in Italy was a standing army, which would cost him nothing. But these colonists were ready to sell their services to anyone, and Catiline recruited here his incendiary bands.

Sylla.[1]

If any political lesson springs from the Roman constitution, it is that the government which seeks to be strong and tranquil must give satisfaction to the needs which successively arise among its citizens. Political organizations are great families, in which the elder sons are under obligation to make room for the younger as fast as the latter arrive at strength, intelligence, and the ability to share in the common tasks. For three centuries this system made Rome's fortune secure. But the aristocracy had long since abandoned it, and Sylla exaggerated this error still further. By his laws the people and their tribunes on the one hand, and the aristocracy on the other, were thrown back four centuries; the former to the obscurity of the position they occupied on the day following the retreat to the Sacred Hill, the latter to the distinction and authority of the early days of the Republic. Could he, however, restore them to the manners of that time, the nobles to an unselfish devotion to the public good, the poor to patriotism, and take away from Rome that empire which required further new conditions of existence? Sylla did not even attempt to restore to nobles and people the esteem of the public and their own self-respect. Into the senate he caused obscure and unworthy persons to enter;[2]

[1] L. SULL. FELI. DIC. Sylla on horseback. Reverse of a gold coin of the Cornelian family. This coin belongs to the number of those that have the Lucullian weight, eleven grammes more or less, while the average weight of the other gold denarii is eight grammes. Only four of this kind are known to exist: two of the Cornelian family, and two of the Manlian. (Note of M. Cohen.) [The only authentic likeness of Sylla is said to be on the coins of his grandson Q. Pomp. Rufus.—*Ed.*]

[2] Sallust, *Cat.*, 37; Dionysius, v. 77. A common centurion, Fufidius, *ancilla turpis, honorum omnium dehonestamentum* (*Orat. Lepidi* in Sall. *Hist. fragm*), became quæstor, and consequently senator.

among the people he spread abroad 10,000 enfranchised slaves, the Cornelians, who served him as a bodyguard against enemies, and on voting days defended him against the surprises of the ballot. Spaniards and Gauls obtained citizenship;[1] a measure praiseworthy under a different system; and he permitted the Italians, except those who had served against him,[2] to be dispersed through the thirty-five tribes. This was an arrangement already made, which he did not care to reconsider, since his military colonies had almost renewed the Italian population. He had, moreover, in his constitution, made the senate's share so important, and that of the people so trivial, that there did not seem to be anything dangerous in a concession which, a few years later, had the effect of securing authority for the popular chiefs. But when universal suffrage of the Italians was established from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina, it must have required organization, and examples were not wanting which indicated the road to follow.[3] Sylla took no thought of this, and instead of a system of voting which would have secured order, the spectacle might be seen, on certain days, of troops of electors, seduced by promises or gained by presents, flocking to the comitia and casting into the urns some dangerous name. Even during Sylla's lifetime one of his enemies in this way obtained the consular office, and in the legal anarchy to which Rome had become accustomed, a consul might undo that which a dictator had done.

Sylla had restored authority to the aristocracy; he did not, however, deceive himself in respect to their morals, and his penal laws, directed against the crimes of which they were habitually guilty, prove that he sought, if not to render them better, at least to intimidate them. To diminish canvassing he decreed that no one should obtain the consulship a second time until after an interval of ten years,[4] and he forbade candidates to solicit the prætorship before the quæstorship, or the consulate before the prætorship.[5] Lucretius Ofella, the same who so long besieged

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 100; *pro Archia*, 10.

[2] *Sociorum et Lati magna vis civitate . . . . prohibentur.* (*Orat. Lepidi* in Sall. *Hist. fragm.*)

[3] See pp. 194–201.

[4] This was the renewal of the law of 342. See vol. i. p. 290.

[5] App., *Bell civ.*, i. 100. See (pp. 365–6) the *lex Villia* or *Annalis* which Sylla sanctioned anew.

Præneste, sealed this law with his blood. He sought the consular office without having been prætor; Sylla warned him to desist, but he continued, and a centurion stabbed him in the Forum. When the people dragged the murderer into the presence of Sylla, who was seated in his tribunal in the temple of Castor: "Let the man go," the dictator said; "he has acted by my orders." He then related to the people the apologue of the labourer, who, being twice interrupted in his work by the bites of insects, ended by throwing his shirt into the fire.

He had risen by violence, and had been the first man to lead the legions against Rome; he now believed himself able to repress similar attempts by reviving the law of Saturninus and Varius against treason, and he still further extended it. For the future, whoever should endanger the honour and security of the Republic, should violate a tribune's veto, or should arrest a magistrate in the exercise of his office, should be interdicted fire and water, that is to say, exiled. To the same penalty any magistrate was liable who allowed the authority of his office to be diminished in his hands, and any governor who should of his own authority declare war, should lead his troops over the frontier of his province, should incite his troops to revolt or give them up to the enemy, or should sell liberty to any captive chief. It was this law (of *majestas*) which punished not acts only, but words, that the emperors in later times turned to such cruel use.

By the law *de falsis* against counterfeiters[1] or forgers of wills, and against those who bought or sold persons not slaves, and by the law *de sicariis*, against murderers, incendiaries, parricides, false witnesses, and dishonest judges, Sylla punished crimes that were too common in Rome. By his law *de repetundis*, that safeguard of the provinces, he sought to repress the avidity of the prætors in their governments, and it was the only measure which he brought forward for the advantage of the provincials. A man of the past, he desired the conquest, which he had himself renewed, to weigh upon them still, and his law *de provinciis ordinandis* concerned almost solely the interests of Rome. No governor should leave his province without orders; there he must

[1] Upon counterfeiting and the reforms of Marius Gratidianus, see p. 609.

remain until it pleased the senate to send him a successor, upon which he must within thirty days leave the province, after having placed in two cities of his government a copy of his accounts.[1] He, however, forbade the governors to demand anything beyond what the regulations granted them, and he limited the often excessive expenses that the provinces incurred in sending embassies to Rome for the purpose of praising the retiring governor, and gaining in advance their new master's good will.[2]

Since the Social war Rome had known neither tribunals nor the administration of justice.[3] Sylla reorganized the *quæstiones perpetuæ*, established seventy years before by Calpurnius Frugi. From this time there were eight of these permanent tribunals, presided over by the prætors.[4] As the judges in these courts of justice were all senators, and as their sentences were without appeal, the administration of justice in criminal cases passed entirely into the hands of the senate. Formerly the right of challenging a judge was very extensive; the new law did not allow more than three to be challenged unless the accused was a senator.[5] These penal laws were the greatest legislative effort made in Rome since the Twelve Tables.

What he did in respect to the finances is not known, but it is certain that he gave the subject attention, for he increased the number of the quæstors. Tacitus says also that he increased the circuit of Rome, although he added no province to the empire. He doubtless felt that the re-conquest of Greece and Asia gave him the right to secure for the city the additional space which her increasing population demanded. Perhaps also it was Sylla who extended the boundary of Italy, from the Æsis to the Rubicon.[6]

[1] The superseded governor preserved *quoad in urbem introisset* (Cic., *ad Fam.*, i. 9), the *imperium*, his lictors, his prætorian chariot, in fine, all the insignia of office. It was useful to the State that he should traverse the empire with all this display. The *imperium* was necessary to him, besides, in case he should wish to solicit a triumph. [And in cases of oppression, to secure his safety from his former subjects.—*Ed.*]

[2] Cic., *II in Verr.*, v. 22; *pro Flacco*, 40; *ad Fam.*, iii. 8, 10.

[3] *Senatus decrevit ne judicia, dum tumultus Italicus esset, exercerentur* (Asconius, in Ciceronis *pro Cornelio*) . . . . *sublatis legibus et judiciis.* (Cic., *de Off.*, ii. 21.)

[4] *De crimine majestatis, de vi, de sicariis et veneficis, de parricidio, de falsis, de crimine repetundarum, de peculatu, de ambitu, de adulteriis, de injuriis.* Sylla allowed the old tribunal of the centumvirs to exist, its competence being mostly confined to questions of inheritance.

[5] Cic., *II in Verr.*, ii. 31.

[6] Strabo., v. i. 11

In his restoration of the aristocratic constitution, Sylla was not unmindful of religion, which has been regarded by statesmen of all ages as a useful instrument of government. Notwithstanding the impiety of his conduct in Greece, he professed a respect for the gods, and until his latest hour believed in the predictions of astrologers. At the battle of the Colline gate he drew from his breast a statuette of Apollo, and gave thanks to it devoutly for saving him from peril. This great gamester had a particular veneration for the goddess Fortune; this profligate was an adorer of Venus, especially that Venus whom he had seen in a dream invested with the weapons of Mars; he offered her a wreath and an axe of gold, the two-fold symbol of his own power. In writing to the Greeks he signed himself Ἐπαφρόδιτος, the *Favourite of Venus*; at Rome he would be called Felix. An equestrian statue was erected to him in front of the rostra, with this inscription, *Corn. Sullæ Felici*, and to the two children born him by Metella he gave the names Faustus and Fausta, which have the same meaning. It might be thought that he obeyed a deeply religious sentiment in attributing all his exploits to the favour of the gods; this, however, was not the case; it was merely a common Roman notion. This people believed that in battle victory came less from the skill of the general than from propitious auspices sent by heaven to one man and denied to another; so that the more the gods favoured a man the more they seemed to bring him near themselves and make him one of the elect. To call oneself the object of their constant protection was to claim some superiority of nature. The beloved of the goddess Aphrodite concealed, therefore, an inordinate pride under his piety, like the Jews in their worship of Jehovah, whose chosen people they called themselves.

Fortune.[1]

[1] A silver statuette in the gallery of Florence of excellent workmanship, and great delicacy of style. It is not quite five inches high. (Clarac., *Musée*, pl. 454, No. 840.)

He increased the number of pontiffs and of augurs from ten to fifteen respectively, and gave them the right of cooption. This secured discipline and secrecy in the sacerdotal body, and also served to place in the hands of the aristocracy a weapon against the popular assemblies if other means failed. Furthermore he caused Sibylline oracles to be sought for to replace the books which had perished in the burning of the Capitol, and he rebuilt that temple with great magnificence.

Venus *Victrix*.[2]

Notwithstanding his immoral life, Sylla enacted many laws to restore the sanctity of marriage and to arrest the abuse of the privilege of divorce,[1] also the inordinate extravagance then prevalent on occasion of funerals and of festivals.[3] Like all sumptuary

[1] Plut., *Sylla*, 35, and *Comparison of Lys.* and *Sylla*, 3; but this law is lost.

[2] Small statue of the Blundell collection, obtained from the villa Mattei. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 593, No. 1290.)

[3] At the kalends, ides, nones, and on days of public games and religious festivals, the expenses were not to exceed thirty sesterces: on other days there was the limit. (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, ii. 24.) He also reduced the price of provisions. (Macrobius, *Saturn.*, III. xvii. [II. xiii.] 11.) But the list of viands which he taxed is so long that Macrobius is shocked at the luxury it reveals. The funeral scene on p. 723 reveals a bas-relief from the Louvre (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, No. 332, pl. 154), representing the *conclamatio*, or the appeal to the dead with loud voice and sound of instruments, to make sure that he no longer lived.

laws, these regulations had no force and but little duration; the man who had made them even bringing them into discredit by his own example. This, however, was not the case with his penal laws, many of which have lasted in substance even to the present time.

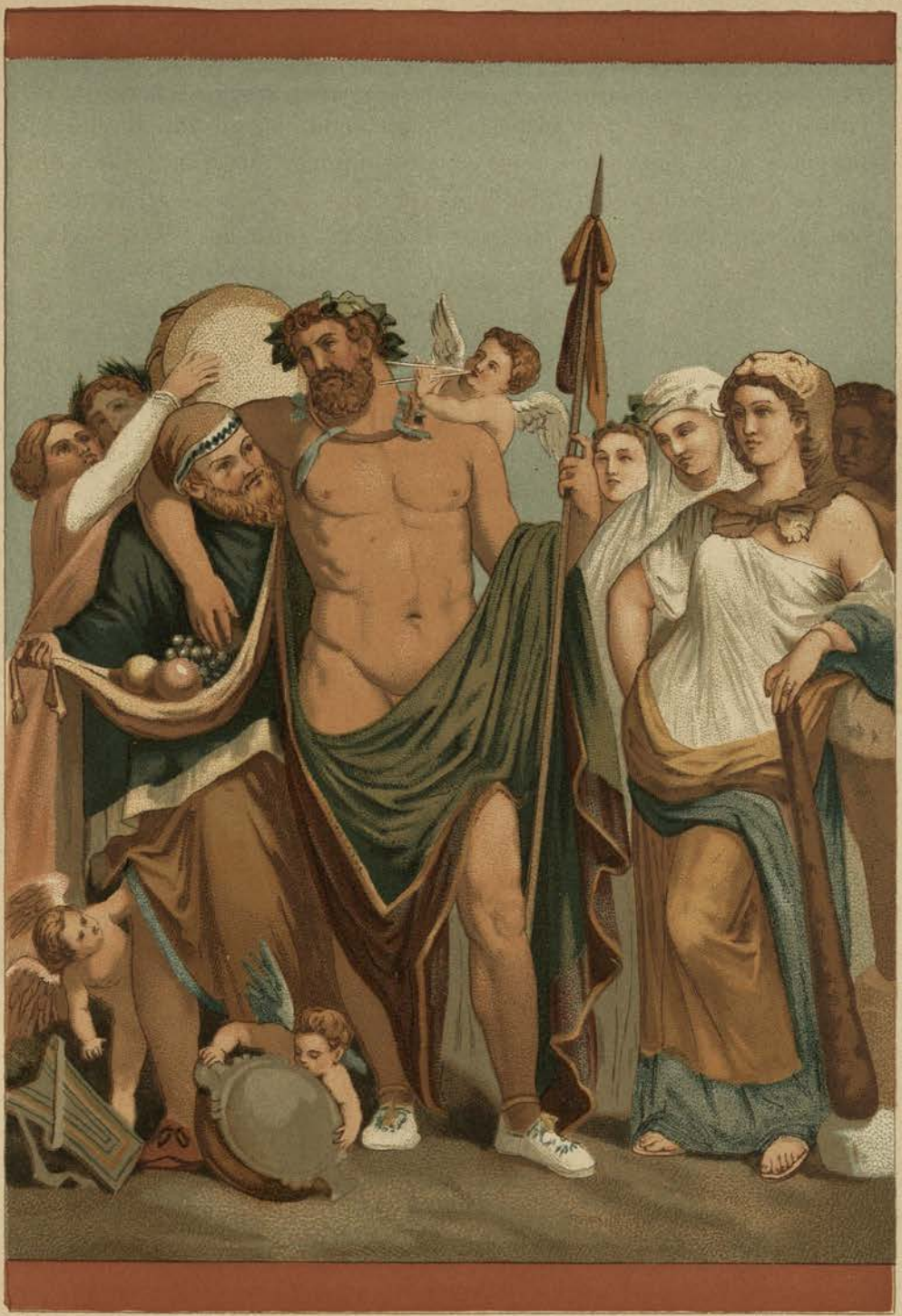
III.—Abdication and Death of Sylla.

When Sylla had completed his work he retired from public life, not through contempt of mankind nor yet disgust of power, but for the sake of observing the free working of the government which he had constructed. His abdication, however (79), had the appearance of being a challenge to his enemies and an audacious confidence in his own power. But the senate and the chief public offices being filled with his creatures, the fact that so many men were interested in the maintenance of his laws, his 10,000 Cornelians, and his 120,000 veterans scattered throughout Italy, from whom he could at a word reconstruct a formidable army, all this rendered this confidence by no means dangerous.[1] It is related that on one occasion, on sending Crassus through a dangerous country, he made the remark, "I give you for escort your assassinated father and all your murdered family." How many sanguinary memories protected Sylla in his return to private life! And when Sylla, sending away his lictors, came down among the people, men shuddered at contact with this fatal man. One young Roman, however, no doubt the son of some victim of the proscriptions, one day reviled him, and pursued him with abusive language as far as his house, when Sylla contented himself with saying, "This insolence will prevent future dictators from doing as I have done;" and, in fact, none ever have done so again.

Sylla loved his indolence and pleasure not less than his power. He had loitered in profligacy until the age of forty-seven before filling the high offices of the State. From that time, it is true, he had filled them continuously, but as soon as he felt

One of these instruments is the *tuba*, or infantry trumpet, the *lituus*, or cavalry trumpet. The antiquity of this bas-relief has been called in question by Clarac and Visconti.

[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 104.



Ronjat pinx.t Imp. Fraillery Percy, chromolith.

HERCULES AND OMPHALE

From a Pompeian Picture.

his work accomplished he returned again to repose. His farewell to the people was worthy of that insolent royalty which renounced itself, and of that crowd which could be bought for a *congiarium*. He glutted the populace with viands of the rarest kinds and the costliest wines, and in such profusion that every day there was thrown into the Tiber prodigious quantities that the satiated crowds could not eat. In the midst of these festivities Metella fell dangerously ill. She had bravely shared his fortunes, but the priests forbade this favourite of Venus to pollute his abode by funeral rites, and before she expired he transmitted to her an act of divorce, and caused her to be carried out of the house. He, however, in spite of his own law, ordered her funeral to be honoured with the greatest pomp.

A few months after, as he was witnessing a gladiatorial combat, a very beautiful woman of high birth, Valeria by name, who had lately been divorced from her husband, stopped in passing him and plucked a thread from his toga. Sylla regarded her with surprise. "I desired," she said, "to have a share in your felicity." The act and words of Valeria attracted Sylla. A few days later he celebrated with her his second marriage.[1]

Retiring to his house at Cumæ he lived a year longer, and on seeing this man passing his days in hunting and fishing, dictating his Memoirs, reading Aristotle and Theophrastus, or at times mingling in nocturnal orgies, with players and buffoons, who could have recognized the former master of the world? Two days before his death he was at work upon the twenty-second book of his *Commentaries*, which he bequeathed, with the guardianship of his son, to Lucullus. The last words written by his faltering hand still extolled his own good fortune. "Fortunate and all-powerful to his last hour," he wrote, "as the Chaldeans had promised, he lacked only to be able to dedicate the new Capitol." In the midst of his tranquil occupations, however, sometimes the pitiless master reappeared again. The day before he died, learning that a magistrate of Puteoli[2] delayed paying the contribution furnished by his city for the completion of the new temple in the

[1] Dion., *Fragm.*, 324, ed. Didot.

[2] Ten days before this Sylla had pacified a sedition in Puteoli, and had prepared a system of municipal law for that city.

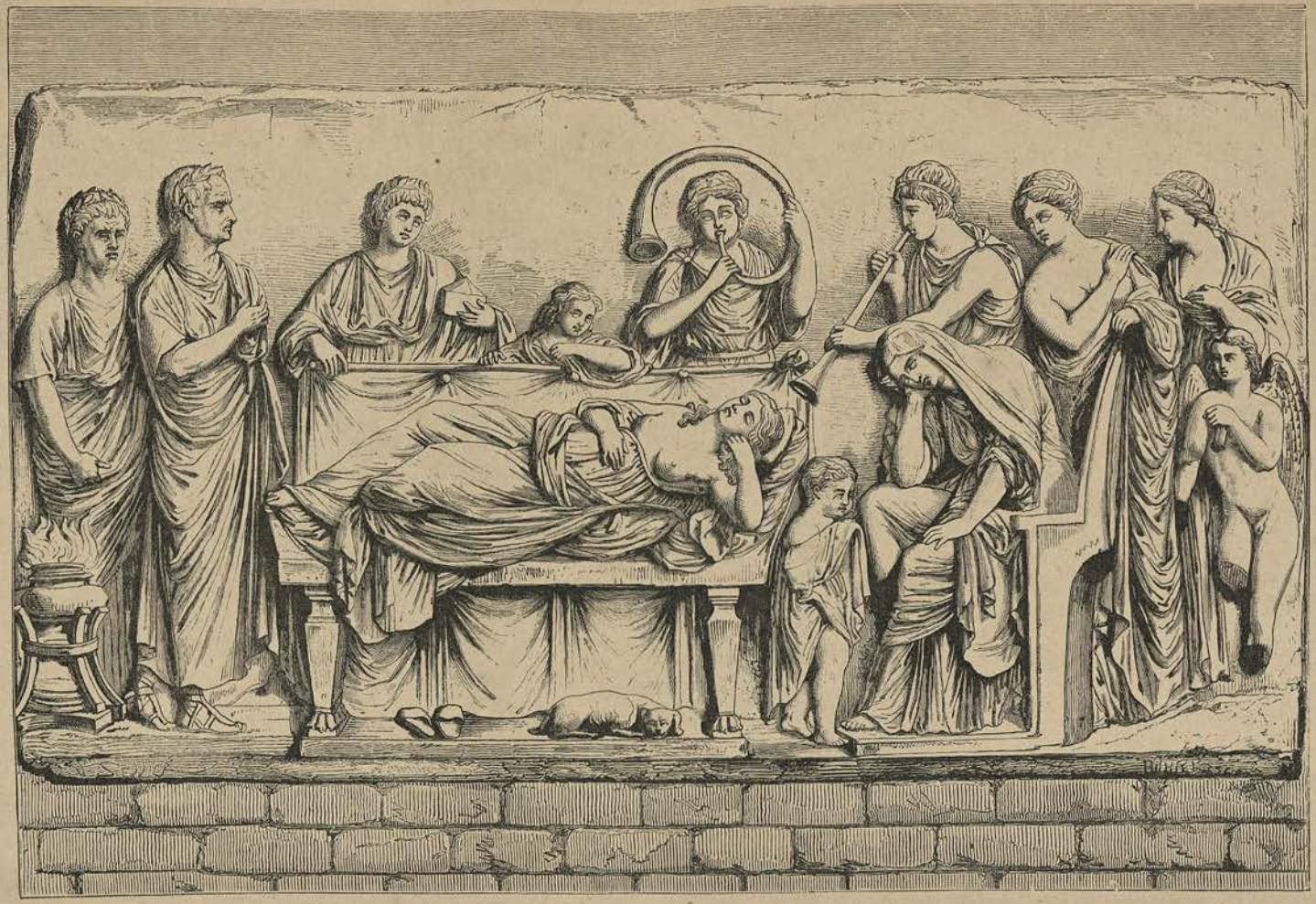
hope of being able to appropriate the money to his own use on Sylla's death, he ordered the offender to be brought to his house and to be strangled in his presence. From the excitement thus caused an abscess broke, he bled violently, and on the next day died. It has been said that his disorder was a frightful one,[1] and that his decomposing flesh bred innumerable vermin, so that the demigod became an object of disgust and horror (78). Such an

Cumæ (p. 721).[2]

end was well deserved, but unhappily we must discard this very moral but untruthful picture. In human affairs justice sometimes overleaps a generation. It was not until thirty years later that,

[1] This disease was the *phthiriasis*, or pedicular disorder. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxvi. 86.) This malady, though rare, is well known to physicians. It is not mortal, however, and does not occasion this putrefaction. Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 105) speaks of a fever which carried him off in a single night, and Plutarch, besides the pedicular disease, speaks of an internal abscess which burst and killed him by blood-poisoning.

[2] Engraving from the *Æneid*, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 183.



Conclamatio over the Dead (p. 719, note 3).

on the battlefield of Pharsalia, the Roman aristocracy paid the penalty of the proscriptions of Sylla.

His funeral rites were grander than Rome had ever seen before. His veterans, summoned from their colonies, escorted the corpse from Puteoli to Rome. A senatus-consultum decreed him the honour of a burial in the Campus Martius.[1] The body was borne in a gilded litter, and around it were carried the insignia of

Second Temple of the Capitol.[2]

the dictatorship and more than 2,000 golden wreaths sent by the cities and the legions. The army preceded and followed the corpse as if in a last triumph.

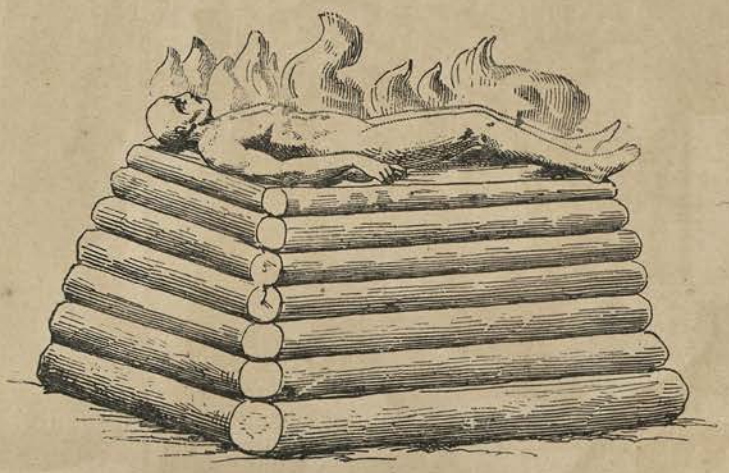
[1] Cic., *de Legibus*, ii. 22.

[2] Enlarged from a coin of the triumvir Petilius Capitolinus. In the pediment Rome seated on bucklers, and the she-wolf, upon the apex the quadriga of Jupiter, statues of Juno and Minerva, and two eagles. The disks hanging between the columns are bells (*tintinnabula*) used in sacrifices (Plautus, *Pseudolus*, 344), as in Roman Catholic churches. Suetonius (*Oct.*, 91) relates that Augustus, having built a temple to Jupiter Tonans, near the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, saw in a dream the latter complaining that the former deprived him of his worshippers. "He shall be thy gatekeeper" (*janitor*), answered the emperor, and in sign of the office the god was to fill to his divine counterpart he caused the bell to be hung. (*Revue de numism. belge*, 5th Series, vol. ii. 1870, p. 51, pl. iii.; Cf. Saglio, *Dict. des antiq. grecq. et rom.*, p. 902.)

The senate and the magistrates, the vestals, and the priests clad in their official robes, and all the equestrian order awaited

Olive Wreath in Gold.[1]

the litter at the gates of the city to accompany it to the Forum. After the funeral eulogy the senators carried the body on their



Funeral Pile.[2]

shoulders as far as the Campus Martius, where only the kings had been buried, and deposited it upon a funeral pile, Sylla

[1] This wreath of perfect workmanship and very pure gold was found in a tomb of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. (*Antiq. du Bosph. Cimm.*, pl. iv.)

[2] From a bas-relief believed to be of the time of Nero, representing scenes from the *Iliad*. The pile is lighted to consume the body of Patroclus. (Cf. Rich, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*, at the words *Ara sepulcri* or *Ara funeris*.

Ronjat pinx.t Imp Fraillery Percy. chromolith.

ZEUS CROWNED BY VICTORY

From a Pompeian Picture.

having directed that his body should be burned, not buried, lest some avenger of Marius might profane his tomb.[1] He had composed his own epitaph—"No man ever did more good to his friends or more injury to his enemies."

Thus died, in the sixtieth year of his age, tranquil and without remorse, this man who has left in history the memory of a policy the most implacable. "His prosperity," says Seneca, "was a reproach to the gods."[2]

We shall not contradict Seneca, although the gods do not appear to us so culpable. But we feel obliged to seek an explanation for Sylla's severity after so many massacres. It would amaze us did we not know that the Romans made a divinity of success, *Bonus Eventus*, that the results of a victory seemed to them like the victory itself, an act of the gods, or, at least, an act directed by the gods, leaving the soul of the conqueror as undisturbed as that of the lictor striking with his axe in obedience to a consul's orders. This ancient fatalism, which filled the drama of Æschylus and the conscience of the Greek people with religious

Vestal.[3]

[1] Until the time of Sylla the Cornelii had been buried, not burned.

[2] *Deorum crimen erat Sylla tam felix.* (*Cons. ad Marc.*, 12.) Pliny (vii. 44) is equally severe.

[3] Marble statue, originally belonging to the collection Chigi, now in Dresden. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 771, No. 1919.)

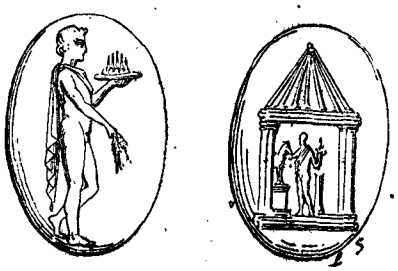
terrors, retained its sway at Rome amidst the growing incredulity of the times, but exercised itself coldly, without attacking the magnificent and fathomless mysteries of the *Prometheus*. The Roman mind had not so lofty a range as that of the Greeks, and no man disquieted himself about a lack of harmony between destiny and the moral law. Even for the sceptic, the vanquished were the condemned of Fortune, and to rid the world of them was justice, not cruelty, since justice consisted in acting in accordance with the will of the gods. This is why the terrible dictator died without remorse, and thus it will be with all those who interpose a false principle between their conscience and their conduct.

Bonus Eventus. (Pembroke Collection.) [1]

Two things mark Sylla's public life, and that which has been subordinated in public estimation, is in reality the greater. Upon his accession to power the empire and the constitution were falling into ruins; the former he saved at Chæronea, and Rome lived five centuries upon his victories; the other he sought to restore by his political legislation, and it did not endure ten years.

[1] Statue of Parian marble, representing the *Bonus Eventus* of the Romans. The young god holds in his hand a cornucopia, emblem of the protection he extends over the harvests and over all kinds of enterprises. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 438 F.)

And yet, when we regard in its whole extent this legislative reform, the greatest accomplished in Rome since the time of the decemvirs, we are impressed with the bold genius of the man who executed it: the political constitution, the organization of the judiciary, the private life of the individual, are all regulated here. He saw the evil, but in correcting it he went no further than superficial causes; when he had crushed the tribuneship and restored the legal authority to an enfeebled aristocracy, he believed he had done all that was needed, and might retire, when, in reality, he was furnishing history with a conspicuous example of the impotence of mere force to found anything durable if it does not act with the times.



Bonus Eventus (p. 727).[1]

Instead of looking forward and seeking to recognize the ideas which were growing in the provinces, in Italy, and even in Rome, he looked back, and in his blind endeavour to restore the past he took no account of those new elements which for four centuries had been developing themselves in the midst of the Roman commonwealth. In the ancient time to which he returned, the slaves, the equestrian order, the Italians, one might even say the people themselves, had no political existence, nor had they any in his laws. But in giving no protection to the slaves he rendered possible the third revolt, led by Spartacus; in taking away the privileges of the knights he put them on the side of those who wished for a revolution; in crushing the Italians and the people he made ready an army for Lepidus, a party for Pompey. There is no disaster, even to the nameless war of Catiline, that did not arise from this unfortunate dictatorship. An event of considerable importance had lately occurred in the extension of the right of suffrage to the Italians, but this Sylla made no attempt to regulate. In respect to the provincials he was absolutely indifferent; and still here was, in reality, the great problem of the time.

This royal authority, which refused to be permanent, did not,

[1] Engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France*, Nos. 1738 and 1740.

therefore, eradicate the fatal germ then undermining the Republic; and when he gave to an aristocracy that was irrevocably doomed the strength to struggle for awhile, Sylla only made the agony longer and more severe.[1] It is a hard thing to wish that liberty should disappear from a people, yet when that liberty is but a sanguinary anarchy, wherein all is lost, civilization, laws, and the moral sense, when the inheritance of the human race is imperilled by the fault of a people, it must be desired that this people return into tutelage rather than that the world itself fall back into chaos.

Moreover, Sylla compromised his laws in advance by depriving them of their best sanction, the legislator's own example. No laws are durable but those which defend themselves by their harmony with the general moral sense of the people, but every day Sylla violated the ordinances he himself had made. He had recognized that murder was a crime, but after the proscriptions were at an end he killed Ofella and Granius without any judicial procedure; he had appointed a punishment for treason, but all his despatches were sealed with the memento of an act of perfidy.[2] He had restricted expenses, but his lavish gifts to the people, and the pomp of Metella's funeral, were an insult to his sumptuary laws; he had prohibited false coinage, but he himself issued a great quantity of pieces to which he gave an arbitrary value.[3] He had professed to honour marriage, but from many citizens he took away their wives and condemned the latter to new unions. He had restored the authority of the senate, but he made senators of common soldiers. He had punished adultery, but the disorders of his own private life were notorious. Could others respect all

[1] Ihne, who much admires Sylla, is, however, obliged to say (vol. v. p. 430): "The Republic was to be saved by no laws or no personal genius." And he adds: "The whole tendency of the age was to Monarchy in place of the Republic." This is a recognition of the fact that Sylla's work was in vain, and history condemns all sterile policy.

[2] The ring representing the treason of Bocchus, delivering up to him Jugurtha.

[3] He resumed the coinage of the plated denarii that had been stopped by Marius Gratidianus (see p. 608, n. 2, and p. 716), and by the severest regulations compelled the State's money to be received without any regard to its metallic composition (Paulus, *Sent.*, V. 25, 1), unless we agree with what seems to be the opinion of Ulpian, that the text of Paulus refers to a legislation of later date. (Cf. *Mosaic. et Romanar. legum collatio*, tit. viii. 7, and Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 40, 41.) It is, at any rate, certain that, from the dictatorship of Sylla to the time of the empire, there were as many false denarii in circulation as there were genuine ones. (Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité*, i. 231.)

this legislation any more than its author did? He did not himself expect that they would; and his words to Pompey, on the subject of Lepidus, prove that he had no hope of a peaceful sway for his new enactments. In truth, odious to the people and to the Italians, defended only by thick-headed nobles and a coarse soldiery, who were ready to abandon it as soon as they had wasted the money and lost the estates it gave them, the legislation of Sylla had against it the most active class in the State, the equestrian order. Even during Sylla's lifetime two men of this order had begun the struggle,—Pompey, in creating a party for himself within the Syllan party, Cicero in attacking a freedman of the dictator in the case of Roscius, and the dictator himself in a case where the young orator obtained from the judges a declaration that Sylla had not had the power to take away citizenship from the Italian towns.[1] In this reaction Pompey was to be the arm, Cicero the eloquent voice, and both were destined to be borne by it for a moment to supreme power.

[1] He resumed this topic in the *pro Cæcina*, 33, in the year 69(?), maintaining that the legislative power cannot abolish certain rights, among others that of liberty, represented by the *jus civitatis*, and that consequently Sylla had not been able to take this away from Volaterræ.

[2] The *bustuarius* was a gladiator who fought at the funeral pile (*bustum*) when a dead body was burned. This custom had its origin in the ancient belief that the *manes* must be appeased with blood. (See vol. i. p. 88.) One of these gladiators is identified as such on the engraved stone copied from Agostini (*Gemme*, ii. pl. cix.) by the sepulchral pyramid in the background.

Bustuarius.[2]

SEVENTH PERIOD.

THE TRIUMVIRS AND THE REVOLUTION (79—30).

CHAPTER XLVIII.

POMPEY, LEPIDUS AND SERTORIUS (79-70).

I.—Recapitulaton of the Preceding Period.

THE life of nations divides itself into periods of two kinds: those which may be called organic, of full, tranquil life, and inorganic, or those of violent transformation. Nations are in the first of these epochs when they have found the form of government best suited to their present interests, and in the second when social forces are at strife one with another. The time of the kings at Rome was, so far as we understand it, that of the harmonious formation of the State in its social and political aspects. This was followed by a century and a half of domestic rivalries and feebleness in the relations of Rome to the world outside. After the time of Licinius Stolo, peace between the two orders being established by equality, the fortunes of Rome were again prosperous. But after the heroic wars in Italy and Africa —following one another, as we have seen, in an inevitable sequence, and after those in Greece and Asia—wars rather of policy than of necessity, there succeeded, as the result of causes which we have examined at length,[1] a new period of interior distractions.

[1] Chapters xxxv. and xxxvi.

From the elder Gracchus to Sylla, during fifty years, these men, so heroic when facing Pyrrhus, Hannibal, and the Macedonians, once more became the sons of the she-wolf, murdering one another in order to determine to whom the world should belong.

Each party had blood upon its hands, but the aristocracy had shed the most. In their fifty years the oligarchy counted five victories marked by the murder of the chief opponents of the senate, and crowned at last by the inexorable dictatorship.[1]

II.—Pompey.

The ten years during which the Cornelian constitution lasted formed one of the most disastrous epochs through which the Republic ever passed, an epoch in which men were least secure of the morrow.

The hatred of the people and of the Italians, the resentment of the equestrian order, and four serious wars, were the legacy left by Sylla to his country. Who should profit by this difficult inheritance? A senate, where the proscriptions of the two parties had left not one man above the level of mediocrity; Metellus Pius an unsuccessful general; Catulus, "in whom," according to Cicero, "was the material for many great men," but who was not a great citizen; Hortensius, who lived only for the bar and his fishponds; Crassus, less occupied with public affairs than with the management of his ill-gotten fortune and with buying Rome piecemeal; Philippus, who had so well contrived to steer clear of perils for twenty years, and who, when he had reached the highest honours, rested tranquilly there; lastly, the most capable of all these second-rate men, Lucullus, the eloquent Epicurean, the Roman of Athens, who had until that time remained a subordinate and without inclination for higher duties. These senators, having escaped from such long-continued perils, only desired to enjoy their lives and fortunes, and to occupy themselves in restoring their devastated villas. But around them were coming up a younger generation, more ardent,

[1] Murder of Tiberius Gracchus, 133; of Caius, 121; of Saturninus, 100; of Drusus, 91; of Sulpicius and the friends of Marius, 88; the proscriptions of Sylla, 82.

stronger for good as well as ill. Cicero was then twenty-eight; Cæsar, twenty-four; Cato, seventeen; Brutus, younger; while Catiline and Verres had already filled public offices.

Pompey.[2]

By his age Pompey belonged to the younger generation,[1] but decorated with the names "the Great" and *imperator*, and having enjoyed a triumph, he stood apart. And we are here so far from equality, so near monarchy, that without having been regularly appointed to any office, without being senator, without being able to depend upon any political party, Pompey was all-powerful in Rome. Cold, irresolute, and as incapable as Marius of a political conception, he has, however, been unfairly treated by modern writers, who love to judge men by trifles, to paint them by anecdotes, even apocryphal, after the manner of Plutarch. No man preserves for forty years the grand position that Pompey made for himself in early youth unless he is in some way superior to his fellow-citizens. It is true that, up to his last battle, he merited even more truly than Sylla the title of the favourite of Fortune. She did much for him; did he do nothing for her? His wakeful nights, his persevering labours to prepare victory and secure it in advance, are not characteristic of the man who trusts himself slothfully to the favour of the gods.[3]

Without being a Cato, he had his frugality and his aversion for Oriental luxury,[4] and with less of affectation, with a reticent

[1] Born the 29th of September, 106, Pompey was the same age as Cicero. The date of Cæsar's birth is usually given as 100. If that were so, he was but a little over thirteen years old when appointed in January, 86, flamen of Jupiter, which is rather young for a pontifical office. He was made ædile in the year 65, but, according to the *lex annalis* (see pp. 365, 366). a candidate for that office must be thirty-seven years of age, which puts back his birth to 102, In placing his birth in that year we find him of the requisite age in 62 for the prætorship, *i.e.*, forty, and for the consulship, which he held in 59, *i.e.*, forty-two completed years. Now, from 82 to 49, Sylla's law in respect to the magistracies was strictly observed, except in the case of Pompey in 70 and in 52; later we shall see the causes for this twofold exception. When Cæsar returned to Rome in April, 49, he gave himself the age of forty-two completed years upon his coins. (Cf. Cohen, *Monn. consul.*, pl. xx., *gens Julia*; the coins numbered 14, 15, and 16 bear the figures 52.)

[2] Head of Pompey, from a silver coin.

[3] Πᾶσαν δὲ ῥᾳστώνην καὶ σχολὴν ἀποτριψάμενος, διετέλει καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἀεί τι πράττων τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον χρησίμων. (Diod., xxxviii. 9.)

[4] Διαίτῃ μὲν γὰρ ἐχρῆτο λιτῇ, λουτρῶν δὲ καὶ συμπεριφορᾶς τρυφὴν ἐχούσης ἀπείχετο. Καὶ τὴν μὲν τρυφὴν καθήμενος προσεφέρετο πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὕπνον ἀπεμέριζε χρόνον ἐλάττονα τῆς ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκης, etc. (*id., ibid.*; Cf. Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 2.) Lucullus had introduced the cherry-tree from

dignity, which announced the man made for command. One day, being ill and averse to food, his physician recommended him to eat a thrush; search was made in the markets, but none could be found. Some one reminded him that the bird could always be obtained from Lucullus, who fed them in coops all the year round, but he would not act upon the suggestion: "If Lucullus had not been an epicure, Pompey could not have lived, then?" he said. He was an eloquent speaker; even at the age of twenty he defended his father's memory, and made so favourable an impression upon the judge at whose tribunal he was pleading that the latter, on the spot, took him for his son-in-law. He was a man of distinguished courage,[1] almost his entire life being spent in camps; also of enterprise and resolution; when all Italy was overrun by the troops of Carbo, he declared for Sylla, and brought an army to the latter, which perhaps saved him. This army Pompey was able to retain in his own service while employing it for the interests of the party; he led the troops wherever the dictator desired, into the Cisalpina, Spain, and Africa; everywhere he was victorious, and his success made an impression upon Sylla, who believed that he could see in this young leader, always fortunate, that same fatality of success which he delighted to recognize in himself.

The terrible dictator was, so to speak, subjugated, and that this invincible good fortune might never be arrayed against his own, he caused Pompey to enter his family, giving him in marriage his granddaughter Æmilia. At one time, however, he had a momentary distrust of the young general, and after Pompey had conquered Domitius and Hiarbas, he ordered him to disband his troops. The soldiers were offended at the idea of losing the pleasure and profits of a triumphal entry into Rome, but Pompey appeased them, and returned alone. This loyalty saved him; Sylla, with all the people, went out to meet him, and saluted him with the title of "the Great." But Pompey was eager for a triumph—a magnificent triumph, and he had brought back from Africa

Cerasus; Pompey brought from the east the use of windmills and watermills, which superseded mills moved by hand, the only kind hitherto known in Italy, and he caused to be translated into Latin by one of his freedmen the works of the Greeks upon medicine.

[1] At the assault on the camp of Domitius he fought without his helmet. (Plut., *Pomp.*, 11.)

elephants to draw his chariot; that Sylla refused him, for the young general was not even as yet a senator. Upon this Pompey went so far as to bid Sylla beware, and remember that the rising sun has more worshippers than the setting. His words produced an immense effect upon the crowd; and Sylla, overcome with surprise, for the first time in his life, yielded. "Let him triumph!" he said, and repeated the words (81). The people applauded Pompey's boldness, and gazed with delight upon this general who did not tremble before the man whom all the world feared.

Pompey had, up to this time, held no public office. He preferred to the consular dignity the position he had made for himself without election by people or senate. Sole among the chiefs of Sylla's party, he had never taken part in the proscriptions, or at least in the pillage that followed them; at Asculum, during the Social war, he had taken only a few books. This, again, was a happy peculiarity, a reproach to the conquerors, as it were, and a hope for the conquered. Beloved by the soldiers, respected by the people, he possessed an influence which he refused to employ, because he despised an obscure consulship, and he saw that the time had not yet come for him to distinguish himself in that office. He was, besides, only twenty-eight years of age, and could have aspired to the consulship only by violating the law, but he took pleasure in showing his influence by supporting a candidate whom the senate disapproved. Notwithstanding their ill-will, Lepidus was elected, a man who did not conceal his hatred for the new institutions (78).[1] "Young man," Sylla said to Pompey, seeing him crossing the Forum after the election, followed by a great crowd of friends, "I see you rejoice in your victory. 'Tis verily a worthy act to gain the consulship for a bad citizen. But take care; you are raising up an adversary stronger than yourself." These words nearly came true. On hearing of Sylla's death Lepidus made an attempt to prevent public honours being paid to his memory, and at once began to talk of abolishing his laws. But this was going

[1] See in the *Fragments* of Sallust a violent address which this historian puts into the mouth of Lepidus, ending with nothing less than a call to arms; if it is not literally authentic, we may at least regard it as expressing his sentiments.

too fast for Pompey. Notwithstanding Sylla's recent coldness towards him,[1] Pompey respected himself too much to betray so soon the cause he had so greatly served; he joined with Catulus, the other consul, and Sylla was honoured with a final triumph. But on quitting the scene of the funeral the two consuls very nearly came to blows.[2]

III.—Lepidus; New Civil War (78—77).

This Lepidus, father of the triumvir, belonged to an illustrious patrician house, the *gens* Æmilia. In the Civil war he declared himself for Sylla, and secured a considerable fortune from the plunder of the proscribed. Then he committed during his prætorship in Sicily (in 81) such exactions that Cicero gives him, after Verres, the first rank among the plunderers of the provinces.[3] He was thus in a position to construct the finest palace in the city, and decorate it with columns of yellow Numidian marble, the first that had ever been seen in Rome.[4] Rich and of noble birth, the affinities of Lepidus were entirely those of the aristocratic party. But, there, all the highest positions were already filled, and he passed over to the other side, guided in this resolution by his marriage with one Apulia, the daughter of Saturninus, and by his fear of a prosecution for extortion, with which he was threatened. He was influenced most of all, however, by his ambition, for the honest reformers of a past generation had no successors but adventurers.

Men are killed or proscribed at will, but well-founded ideas and real needs can be disposed of only by giving them satisfaction, and as Sylla's restoration had taken into account none of the new conditions which the past had produced, or which the present demanded, Lepidus had only to mention the re-establishment of the laws for distributions of corn, and the recall of those who had

[1] He did not name him at all in his will.

[2] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 107.

[3] *II in Verr.*, iii. 91.

[4] "His house," says Pliny, "was at that time the finest in Rome, but so rapid was the progress of luxury that thirty-five years later more than 100 surpassed it in magnificence." (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi. 24, 4.)

been exiled, when the party which Sylla believed he had smothered in blood reappeared at once.[1]

No sooner was it understood that one of the consuls was ready to undo what the dictatorship had established, than a great crowd of men began to hope for a new confusion. The families of the victims of the proscriptions looked forward to a recovery of their lost wealth and civic rights; the young men of fashion, to obtaining means for their ruinous profligacy; the tribunes, to power; the people, to excitements which would interrupt the monotony of these dull times, when, for the last three years, not a storm had burst in the Forum. The knights could not pardon the nobles for the suppression of their judicial power; the poor were offended by the loss of the corn distributions; and the ambitious men, who were refused access to power by the oligarchy, promised themselves to derive advantage from all these regrets, which were easily changed into hopes. A great province, Spain, was in the hands of Sertorius; the Cisalpina had for governor a Junius Brutus of doubtful fidelity; on every side, the crowd of those who felt themselves ill at ease and out of place, and had so many times before caused revolutions, were calling for one now, and certain of the more conspicuous members of the Marian party ventured to return to Rome. Perperna, the prætor whom Pompey had expelled from Sicily, Cæsar, the son of Cinna the consul, and others, had already arrived, and, as always happens with the proscribed, they had forgotten nothing.

Lepidus proceeded with extreme rapidity; he restored the Sempronian law for the distribution of corn to the people,[2] thereby gaining all the Roman beggars, and to attach to himself the Italians, he promised to restore their lands to all who had been despoiled. Thus, on every side, the dispossessed saw their prospects brighten, and some went so far as to collect weapons.

[1] Lepidus, during his consulship, made one of those useless sumptuary laws which democratic jealousy required, but which were never executed. He forbade the serving at banquets of foreign birds or shell-fish, and designated what might be eaten and how it might be prepared. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, viii. 27; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, II. xxiv. 12; Macrobius, *Saturn.*, iii. 17, 13.)

[2] Granius Licinianus, *Fr. ex lib.*, xxxvi.; *ad ann.*, 78: *nullo resistente, ut annonæ quinque modii populo darentur.* This law was doubtless abolished when its author was declared a public enemy, for the re-establishment of five modii dates from the year 73. (Cf. Sallust, *Fragm.*, and Cicero, *II in Verr.*, iii. 70.)

The men of Fæsulæ, the first to be ready, rushed upon the veterans in the *castella* which they had established, and, after killing many, drove the rest out of their territory. This might well have been the signal for a general conflagration. The senate, whom Sylla imagined he had made so strong, were terrified, but derived no energy from their terror. Between Catulus and Lepidus, who were already threatening each other, they knew no way to

Castellum (Fortified Post).[1]

interpose save by prayers, to obtain from them an oath that they would not take arms against each other, and the Conscript Fathers believed that they had warded off the impending danger when they had decided that the two consuls should go at once to their respective provinces—Catulus, to the Cisalpine, and Lepidus, to

[1] From the *Virgil* of the Vatican. *Castellum*, with its garrison bivouacking outside, while sentinels (*vigiles*) keep watch by night within the walls. (Cf. Rich, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, pp. 119 and 707.) [This is the mediæval notion of a *castellum*, and bears no trace of an early date.—*Ed.*]

Narbonensis. There was said to be danger of attacks in the latter province, and the senate were guilty of the imprudence of granting a large sum of money to decide the greedy proconsul to set off for his government. As he must, on his way, reduce the

Minerva of Tivoli.[1]

outbreak in Fæsulæ, he was authorized to raise troops; he had therefore all that he needed for levying an army.

While Lepidus slowly moved on his way, Catulus went on with the reconstruction begun by Sylla of the Capitoline temple

[1] Statue of Greek marble, discovered at Tivoli, at Hadrian's villa. (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. ii. pl. 12, and Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 461, No. 857.)

which towered majestically above the Forum,[1] an immense work, of which there now remain only the massive foundations underlying the *Senator's Palace* in Rome, and upon which, in the time of Catulus, stood the *Tabularium*, or Record Office. Under the façade he placed a Minerva of Euphranor, which the people were

Fortune.[2]

accustomed to call the *Catulan*, but he reserved for the temple of Fortune, consecrated by his father after the Cimbrian war,

[1] The inscription engraved on it by order of the senate yet remains: *Q. Lutatius Q. F. Q. N. Catulus Cos. substructionem et tabularium ex sen. cons. faciundum curavit.*

[2] Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 455, No. 834. Statue in the Royal Museum at Berlin, called by Clarac, the *naval* Fortune, on account of the rudder she holds in her right hand, which is due, however, to modern restoration.

two statues by Phidias, stolen, like the former, from Greece.[1] The Romans, incapable of creating masterpieces like these, knew at least how to love them and especially how to steal them. The temple was filled with offerings of all kinds sent by cities, kings, and nations. From this collection one object was missing

Statue of Jupiter.[2]

which should have been there, an exquisite work of art, made of gold and adorned with precious stones, which the king of

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 18, and xxxiv. 19.

[2] Fine statue from Lord Leicester's collection at Holkham, given by Clarac. (*Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 396 D, No. 678 B.) The calm expression of the face, the regularly waved hair, as well as the *patera* and the sceptre, have given this figure the name of "the propitious Jupiter."

Syria had destined for the Capitol, and which his envoy, passing through Syracuse, had the imprudence to show to Verres; the latter stole it; and this royal gift, destined for Jupiter, king of the gods, went instead to decorate the boudoir of the *Swallow* (*Chelidon*), one of this Sicilian satrap's mistresses.

The festival of the dedication of this temple lasted for several days, and was marked by a novelty that Cato would have anathematized: Catulus, to shelter the spectators from the sun, caused his theatre to be covered with coarse awnings, later to be replaced by the immense and splendid *velaria* of the empire.[1]

While his colleague was occupied with these pious cares and this solicitude for the comfort of the people, Lepidus was passing through Etruria, collecting men, provisions, and arms from the populations who had been so cruelly treated by Sylla, and calling out the veterans of Marius and Carbo. Junius Brutus, the governor of the Cisalpina, declared for him. Cæsar, who was on his way home from Asia, was urged by L. Cinna, his brother-in-law, to do the same, but the character of the leader and the strength of the party did not appear to him secure enough, and he waited.[2] However, by the promise of annulling the acts of the dictatorship Lepidus had soon augmented his army, and when the senate, at last disquieted, recalled him under pretext of his presence being needed for the consular comitia, he marched upon Rome, preceded by the declaration that he came for the purpose of re-establishing the people in their rights, and assuming a second consulship—in fact, the dictatorship.

The Conscript Fathers made an attempt to negotiate, but they were received in such a manner that it became evident hostilities could not be avoided. The situation at Rome appeared dangerous. Cethegus and other ruined young nobles traversed the disorderly quarters of the city, talking of an approaching revenge. The tribunes of that year, chosen under the influence of the Syllan laws, were feeble and timid; but, if the noise of arms were to

[1] Val. Max., ii. 46; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, x. 6.

[2] In 77 and 76, however, he began the war against the partisans of Sylla by accusing two of them, Cn. Dolabella, the former governor of Macedon, and Antonius, who had cruelly oppressed Greece. In taking up the part of accuser Cæsar merely followed the example of the young nobles, who were accustomed to make their first appearance in this manner, but the choice of his victims marks the direction of his feelings.

silence the voice of the law, was it not possible that one of these officers, at the approach of Lepidus, might find enough of the old audacity to stir up the crowd and put the Cornelian senate between two dangers? A senator whom we have known for many years roused men's minds by an energetic address, which Sallust has preserved for us, rewriting it somewhat less, perhaps, than usually is the case with speeches reported by him. Philippus reproached the senators sharply for their irresolution: "While you are shuffling and evading, and recasting your speeches, and adorning them with quotations from the poets, you hope for peace rather than defend it, nor do you understand that your supineness takes from you your dignity, from him his fear!

"Do the demands of Lepidus trouble you? He who says it is his pleasure that to every man should be restored his own, and keeps his grasp on the property of others! that laws imposed by violence should be set aside, yet himself wields the sword! that the right of citizenship be confirmed, who denies that it was ever lost! that for the sake of peace the tribunitian power should be again entrusted to the popular suffrage, that very thing from which all our disorders have sprung!

". . . . If this is what you want, if so great amazement has fallen upon your minds that, forgetting the crimes of Cinna, at whose entrance into the city decorum and all distinction of rank disappeared, you nevertheless propose to entrust yourselves, your wives and children, to Lepidus, what need of decrees? What need of help from Catulus? Since you will, put yourselves under the protection of Cethegus and the other traitors who thirst to begin the work of fire and pillage. . . . As for me, I think that the interrex Appius Claudius, the proconsul Catulus, and all others who have the *imperium* and are charged with the defence of the city, should *see to it that the Republic be not endangered.*"

This decree was passed, and Catulus made, or renewed, and extended the law *de vi publica*, which forbade fire and water to the authors of public disturbances;[1] and, at the same time, he increased the levies which were easily obtained through the joint action of Pompey. Too young to aspire to the consulship, too

[1] It is this law of which Cicero made use against Catiline. (*pro Cœlio*, 29.)

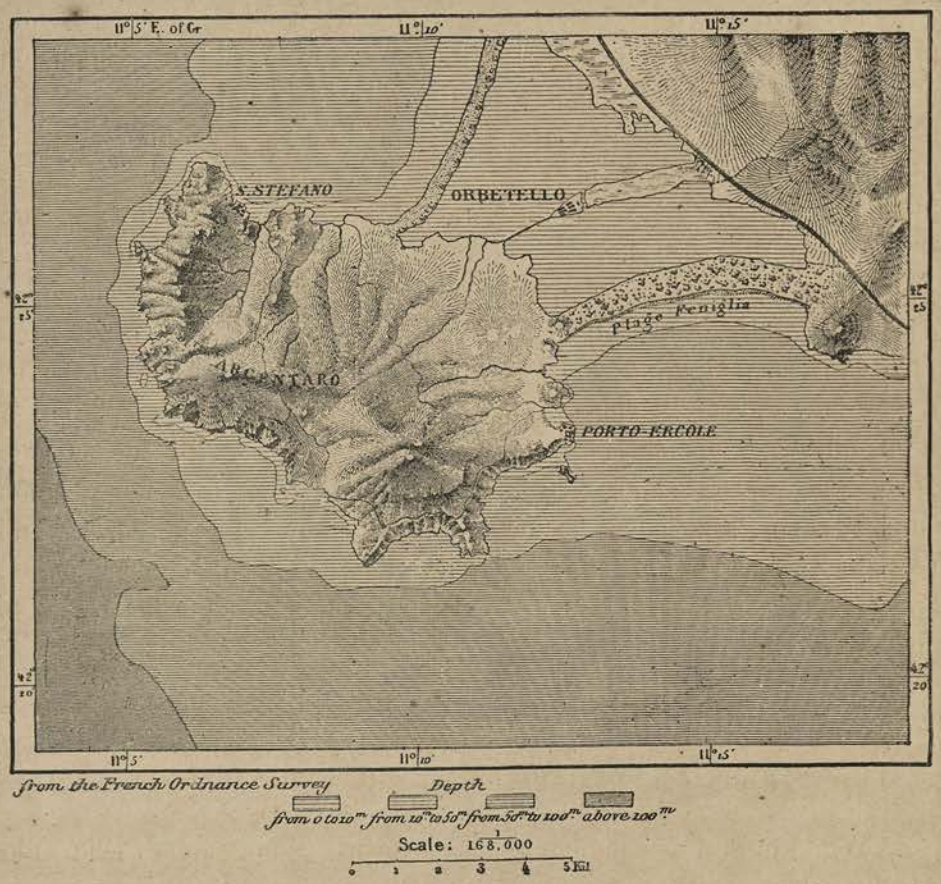
full of his own renown to consent to reach that position by passing through the inferior offices, Pompey seized this new occasion to defy the laws while serving them. A decree of the senate associated him with Catulus in the command of the army, and he was its real head. The proconsular troops, joined by many of the veterans who were threatened with being obliged to restore the lands that had been granted them, established themselves upon the Janiculum, upon the hills of the Vatican, and at the Milvian Bridge[1] to defend the passage of the Tiber.

The second-rate personage who was now posing as the successor of Marius had not concealed his projects long enough to give time for organizing his forces, and was not quick enough to take his adversaries by surprise. Encamping between the Tiber and the Cremera, he despatched emissaries into Rome for the purpose of raising a disturbance, but no one responded. The populace crowded the walls and the river bank to behold a spectacle of far deeper interest than gladiatorial combats—two armies engaged opposite the Campus Martius. The battle was very short; the veterans of Sylla, reinforced by all the nobles, charged so hotly that the raw troops of Lepidus gave way, and fled with their chief in the direction of Bolsena. Lepidus had the design of making for the Samnite mountains, but the manœuvres of his adversaries shut him up in Etruria. Here he suffered a second repulse, and was driven back towards the sea, and while Catulus, with prudent moderation, continued driving him in that direction, Pompey had time to hasten into the Cisalpina, where M. Junius Brutus had shut himself up in Modena. In want of provisions, or perhaps forced by some treason, Brutus surrendered, stipulating for his life, but on the following day Pompey had him put to death. A son of Lepidus, and a Scipio—perhaps the consul of the year 83—who during Sylla's proscriptions had taken refuge in Massilia, were taken in the Ligurian city of Alba and also put to death. The Cisalpina being thus pacified, after the Roman fashion, by murders, Pompey rejoined Catulus, who had just inflicted a second defeat upon Lepidus under the walls of Cosa.

Opposite this city rises from the sea Mons Argentarius,

[1] See vol. i. p. 138, the plan of Rome, and p. 199, that of the Veian territory.

a promontory sharply defined on all sides, and attached to the continent merely by two sand-banks enclosing a lagoon.[1] These sand-banks Lepidus cut, and made of the promontory an island. He could not, however, long hold the position for lack of provisions, and he embarked by night for Sardinia in the hope of



Mons Argentarius.

raising an insurrection among the people there, while his lieutenant Perperna was to secure Sicily, whence they could give assistance to Sertorius, and hoped thus to reduce Rome by famine, cutting off her supplies from the two islands, her principal granaries. Fatigued and disappointed, Lepidus fell ill, and a letter written by his wife

[1] This rock, seven miles long and four in breadth, owed its name to silver mines existing there in early times.

completed his misfortunes. This letter came by accident into his hands, and was of a character to leave him in no doubt as to the fidelity of Apuleia and the esteem she entertained for her husband: "The unfortunate man," she wrote to her lover, "has no common-sense." A few days later he died; thus ended the first act of the new Civil war (77).

This time the victorious party did itself honour by its moderation, and a few years later the senate, upon the suggestion of Cæsar, granted an amnesty to the partisans of Lepidus.

The insurrection had the effect of uniting Pompey with the senate, and gave him back his army. Catulus directed him to disband it, it is true, but he paid no attention to this order, and the senate did not dare to urge the point. In the aristocratic party, therefore, Pompey saw no one above him; in the opposite party it might even be doubted whether the chiefs, if they were victorious, would admit him to a share. Certainly he would have felt the force of a democratic reaction, and he determined that, if it should ever succeed, it should, at all events, be by his agency. He was a good enough citizen, moreover, to wish that the reaction should come into power slowly, without any violent shock, and without further proscriptions. Under these circumstances, therefore, he accepted the position of Sylla's executor, and now went to encounter Sertorius.

IV.—Sertorius; Continuation of the Civil War (80—73).

We know the character of Sertorius, this Sabine who, like Marius, had neither ancestors nor posterity, and, like him, was a better general than statesman. He had distinguished himself in the Cimbrian war, and his long campaigns in Gaul had so well familiarized him with the language and habits of the barbarians that he was able more than once to penetrate the camp of the Teutones in disguise and obtain information as to their numbers and plans. During the Social war he acted as the senate's agent with the Italian Gauls, and was able to retain them faithful to Rome. Later he sought the tribuneship; the Syllans prevented his obtaining it, and this rebuff threw him for ever into the party

of his former general. Reserved in manners, of great sobriety, of small appetite, brave even to rashness, which caused him many wounds and the loss of an eye, fruitful in military contrivances, and of an activity that no fatigue could weary, Sertorius had all the qualities necessary to the chief of a guerilla band, and his antecedents made him the last hope of the Marian party.[1]

After the insurrection of the slaves against their masters, of the plebeians against the nobles, and of the Italians against Rome, we have seen that all the nations in the eastern part of the empire aided Mithridates with their good wishes or with their military strength, in his attempt to overthrow a hated authority. Fortunately for Rome it happened that, although there was a common consent in hatred, it was impossible to have unanimity in counsel or in action. She must have fallen beneath the weight of a world united against her, but she triumphed over adversaries who came successively to strike ill-concerted blows at her colossal power.

After the defection of Scipio's army Sertorius had gone into Spain (82) with the title of prætor conferred upon him by the Marian party, in virtue of which he had legal authority in those provinces. He studied the country, its resources, the spirit of that valiant race whose maidens chose their husbands among the bravest, the preferred suitor being the one who could offer to his bride the right hand of an enemy he had himself slain; and the Roman general won them by his gentle conduct, which was in strong contrast with the rapacity and insolence usual in governors of provinces. Before this he had served in Spain as military tribune, and had gained the respect of the Spaniards by his adroitness in stratagem.

A Roman garrison at Castula (*Cazlona*) had by their insolence exasperated the inhabitants, and the latter called the men of a neighbouring city to their aid, opening to them by night one of the city gates. A considerable number of Romans perished, but Sertorius had been able to make his escape. Followed by all the Roman soldiers whom he could rally, he at once made the circuit of the city, re-entered by the gate which the Spaniards had

[1] Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, xv. 17; Suetonius, *Cæs.*, 5.

not closed, and the latter, surprised in their turn, were put to the sword. In the morning, with his soldiers, whom he had caused to put on the dress and arm themselves with the weapons of the barbarians whom they had slain, he marched to the other city, whose inhabitants came out to meet the approaching force, believing them to be their friends. Sertorius attacked them, and the whole population were either slain or sold into slavery. The affair was noised abroad, and from that time the name of Sertorius was famous in Spain. When it was known that he had come into the province invested with the supreme command, and when the Spaniards saw him diminishing the subsidies and excusing the cities from lodging his troops, by living with them in tents, volunteers came to him in crowds. Ready to deceive themselves at any time, they now believed that this Roman, proscribed at Rome, would henceforth fight on their side.

Coin of Annius and Tarquitius, his quæstor.[1]

Sylla, meantime, had not forgotten him, and a considerable army arrived in Gaul under the command of Annius Livius Salinator. One of the lieutenants of Sertorius, sent to guard the passes of the Pyrenees, had at first repulsed all attacks, but was soon after assassinated by a traitor, upon which his troops dispersed, and Annius effected an entrance into the provinces (81). Sertorius was too weak to make a stand against him, and fell back as far as Carthagena.

Sylla was victorious on all sides. Every land obeyed him, and expelled those whom he had proscribed; the sea alone was free. Sertorius, with 3,000 men, embarked upon the Mediterranean, and for many months roved the Spanish and African coasts. Once he made a descent on the Pityusæ,[2] and another time pillaged the country at the mouths of the Bætis. Disgusted, however, with this precarious existence, which assimilated him to his allies, the pirates, he at one time is said to have entertained the idea of renouncing a struggle so unpromising, and seeking, afar from the

[1] C. ANNIUS T. F. T. N. PROCOS. EX S. C. Bust of Juno Moneta. On the reverse, C. TARQVITIA. Victory in a biga. Silver coin of the Annian and Tarquitian families.

[2] Now Iviza and Formentara, on the Spanish coast, 700 stadia from the promontory of Diana. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 5.)

enslaved world, a tranquil abode in the Fortunate Islands (the Canaries).[1] But his soldiers had little taste for the sweets of the golden age; they persuaded him to abandon a design which he had probably suggested in the hope of stimulating them to renewed efforts.

Punic Money of Tingis.[2]

The Marusians, a Moorish people, were at that time in arms against their king, Ascalis, who had been aided by one of Sylla's lieutenants. Sertorius defeated this prince and his auxiliaries, and took by storm the city of Tingis on the African coast, commanding the entrance of the Mediterranean and looking across to Spain, whither Sertorius hoped to return. The rumour of his successes had spread through the province, and many marvellous

Struggle of Hercules with Antæus.[3]

incidents were added thereto; he had, it was said, discovered the body of Antæus the giant, and, alone of living men, had seen those bones, sixty cubits in length. The Lusitanians, oppressed by Annius, invited him to put himself at their head; he accepted, and, passing through the Roman fleet, he landed in the peninsula with an army of 1,900 Romans and 700 Africans; the Lusitanians furnished him with 4000, foot and 700 horse. It was with less than 8,000 men that he ventured to declare war upon the master of the Roman world. But his soldiers had the most absolute

[1] Plut., *Sertor.*, 8; Florus, iii. 22.

[2] Two ears of corn and four Punic letters representing the word *Tinga*. Bronze coin of Tingis. (*Tangier.*)

[3] From a painted vase in the Campana collection of the Louvre.

View of Tangier (Tingis).

confidence in this leader, whom they regarded as a second Hannibal.[1]

Sertorius began by defeating the proprætor of Bætica, and a lieutenant of his conquered and killed the governor of the Citerior province (80). Metellus, charged by the dictator to arrest these dangerous successes, could not bring his adversary to a battle (79). Sertorius, who knew the mountain passages as well as the most experienced native hunter, had adopted the local methods of fighting, his soldiers being as prompt to retreat as to attack. With his large and heavy army Metellus could not reach these agile mountaineers, who made their campaign without tents or waggons, who ate as they could, and slept under the stars, who were everywhere, and whom no one could capture. In reality Metellus held nothing outside of his fortified camp, and had much difficulty in victualling his troops. The unexpected attacks of his adversary disconcerted the methodical general. Sertorius gave his troops the example of audacity; splendidly armed, he was always in the front, and made the boldest ventures personally; one day, he challenged Metellus to single combat.[3]

Coin of L. Manlius.[2]

Notwithstanding the confidence he had at first displayed, Metellus was compelled to call to his aid the proconsul of Narbonensis, and sent forward his quæstor with a division to meet the three legions and 1,500 horse who were sent to join him, but Sertorius prevented the junction; the quæstor and his division were captured, and when Manlius emerged from the Pyrenees he was so completely defeated that he was almost the only man to escape and find shelter at Ilerda (*Lerida*). The road into Gaul was now open to Sertorius, but an attack made

Coin of Ilerda (*Lerida*).[4]

[1] See vol. i. p. 673, the map of Spain.

[2] L. MANLI. PROQ. Head of Pallas. On the reverse, L. SVLLA. IM.; Sylla in a quadriga. Gold coin of Lucullian weight, of the Manlian and Cornelian families.

[3] [In this feature he differed completely from Hannibal, of whom Polybius specially notes that he never exposed his person to unnecessary danger.—*Ed.*]

[4] ILERT., in Celtiberian, over a wolf. Reverse of a bronze coin of Ilerda. The wolf is an extremely rare symbol in ancient numismatics. (Note by M. Cohen.)

by Metellus on Lacobriga in Lusitania, near the mouth of the Douro, recalled him. The proconsul believed himself this time sure of success; but the place was nevertheless relieved, and his legions were compelled to abandon the province.

Notwithstanding the presence of this great army, Sertorius was really master of all Spain; he settled disputes between nations and individuals, levied troops, which he quartered in barracks, not

View of Lerida.[1]

to be burdensome to the inhabitants; he fortified the cities and the passes of the mountains; he drilled the native levies in Roman tactics, and above all devoted himself to gaining their confidence. He had been able to persuade them that he was in direct communication with the gods, a white hind that always followed him being the divine messenger; if he secretly received important news the hind had whispered it in his ear, and when he repeated aloud

[1] Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, pl. 69.

what the event soon confirmed, the artifice was successful with the childish credulity of the Spanish people. Moreover, he commanded their respect by his care in preventing any licence on the part of his troops; one day, he caused an entire cohort to be put to death as a penalty for their excesses, and hence the devotion of the people was absolute, and, like the Aquitanian chiefs, he was always attended by a band ready to die for him.

The Hind of Sertorius.[1]

It was not, however, an army easy to keep in order, but he employed every means to this end. Once his Spaniards, eager to fight, engaged the enemy without his orders, and were repulsed. A few days later he called the army together and caused two horses to be brought into the field, one led by a feeble old man, the other by a very robust soldier, and directed each man to pull out his horse's tail. The soldier seized the tail of his horse with both hands, and exhausted himself in vain efforts; the other pulled out the hairs one by one, and presently had accomplished his task. "You see, fellow-soldiers," said Sertorius, "that perseverance is worth more than energy, and that many things which cannot be overcome when they are together, yield themselves up when taken little by little." This eloquence in action, of which Hannibal had already made use,[2] impressed the minds of the barbarians much more than any long oration.

The defeat of Lepidus in Etruria gave Sertorius an important reinforcement (77), for Perperna went over into Spain with the considerable remnant of that army; it was the wish of Perperna to act independently, but his soldiers obliged him to place himself under the orders of the most famous of the Marian chiefs. With him came several senators and Romans of distinction. Sertorius

[1] From an engraved statue in the Maffei collection. (De Brosses, *Hist. de la rép. rom.*, vol. i., pl. iii., No. x.)

[2] See vol. i. p. 585.

formed of them a senate of 300 members, and to show plainly that he remained a Roman still, in the midst of barbarians, he admitted no Spaniard to this body, even refusing them also the higher grades in the army![1] This was an error on his part, for the Spaniards had hitherto believed that the exiled Roman would fight for them, and they now began to see, that whether it were the party of Marius or of Sylla, the popular or the aristocratic faction, all alike had but one desire—to maintain for their own advantage the rule of Rome over the provinces.

Coin of Osca.[2]

Sertorius had gathered at *Osca* (Huesca) the sons of the most important Spanish families to have them instructed in the learning of Greece and Rome, and he took pleasure in observing their work and distributing to the best scholars the golden amulets that were given as rewards to the noble youth in the Roman schools. The Spaniards had regarded these proofs of interest as an honour and a pledge that their children should one day fill offices in the Republic; it now occurred to them that perhaps their sons were detained at Osca as hostages for the parents' fidelity, and their zeal might have cooled had not Metellus opened his career by threats and by the imposition of new taxes. Corneille represents Sertorius as saying:—

Rome n'est plus dans Rome; elle est toute où je suis.

The idea is noble, and it may have been the thought of the exiled man, but it was unwise to show it too plainly.

Immediately upon his recent successes Sertorius had incited the Aquitanians to revolt, and they had defeated a proconsul and killed a prætor. It was easy for him also to persuade Narbonensis, which had lately furnished recruits to Lepidus,[3] and whose

[1] The same has been French policy in Algiers towards the natives serving under the French flag.

[2] OSCA. Man's head. On the reverse, DOM. COS. ITER. IMP. Instruments of sacrifice. Silver coin of Osca, stamped with the name of Domitius Calcinus, Cæsar's lieutenant in Spain.

[3] Cæsar. *Bell. Gall.*, iii. 20, and *Fragm.* of Sallust. There were frequent agitations in this province; about the year 90 an insurrection of the *Salluvii* (Livy, *Epit.*, lxxiii); in 83 there was a defeat of the Gauls by Val. Flaccus. The date of the defeat and death of the prætor Val. Præconinus is uncertain. M. Desjardins (*op. cit.*) places it with good reason at about this time.

tribes were not yet all of them trained to obedience. One of his lieutenants even went so far as to guard the passes of the Alps, and he himself received from Rome urgent solicitations to make a descent into Italy, for more than one man, even among the nobles, would have been glad to see the downfall of an order of things which, while serving the oligarchy, placed too serious hindrances in the way of the personal avidity of the oligarchs.

The senate kept a fleet in the Spanish waters, but it was constantly occupied with the pirates, of whom we shall soon have

Swift Vessel (*celes*).[1]

to speak, and who, in this apparent dissolution of the Roman colossus, had taken the sea for their share. As natural allies of all the enemies of Rome, they rendered Sertorius whatever services were desired of them. He had opened to them at the most easterly point of Spain the triple promontory of Diana, a fortress which served as a trading post for prisoners and prizes, a watch-tower[2] whence to keep a look-out over the sea, and to run out suddenly upon transports from the shelter where their light craft lay concealed from the heavy war-ships. The situation, therefore, was becoming grave; a civil war threatened the gates of Rome, and the work of Sylla seemed about to fall into ruin.

[1] From the column of Trajan. These open vessels were employed by the pirates as swift sailors. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 57; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, x. 25; Scheffer, *Mil. nav.*, p. 68.)

[2] This was an old establishment of the Massiliots, who had constructed these towers, of which the tallest was well named τὸ Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον, a word signifying the post of the day-sentinel. (Strabo, iii. 159.)

Notwithstanding their reluctance to call upon Pompey for further services, the senate sent him to the help of Metellus with proconsular authority and the office of governor of Hither Spain, thus violating the constitution of Sylla in the very attempt to save it.

Pompey had not disbanded his army, and he now in forty days had completed his preparations and took the road to the Alps with 30,000 foot and 1,000 horse (76). To avoid the passes guarded by Sertorius, and to signalize the opening of his expedition by a bold march, he essayed a new way, which was probably across the Cottian Alps. The Spanish cohorts, thus baffled, fell back upon the Pyrenees, abandoning the Narbonensis, which expiated its revolt with fire and sword. Sylla's former lieutenant seemed animated by the inexorable spirit of the dictator. "His road was marked by massacres all the way to Narbo," says Cicero. Then followed confiscations; whole populations were driven out; the Helvii and the Arecomici lost part of their territory, which went to recompense the fidelity of Massilia; the Ruteni (Rouergue) were united to the Province; and finally, when Pompey passed over into Spain he left as governor in Gaul the hardest and most rapacious of men, the proconsul Fonteius.[2]

Coin of Valencia.[1]

Sertorius did not defend the mountain passes, being at that time occupied with the siege of Lauron (Liria?),[3] not far from Valencia, and Pompey, who flattered himself that he could easily

[1] VALENTIA. Cornucopia and thunderbolt crosswise. Reverse of a bronze coin of Valencia.

[2] A fragment of Sallust, No. 569, mentions in connection with Pompey's stay in Narbonensis the meeting of the provincial assembly. Everywhere we find this institution, whose importance we have already noted (vol. ii. p. 194).

[3] Near Liria has been found a Nymphæum and an inscription purporting that a Sertorius and his wife Sertoriana Festa contributed to the construction of this Nymphæum, *in honorem Edetanorum et patronorum suorum.* (*C. I. L.*, vol. ii., No. 3786.) This Sertorius Euporistus Sertorianus was the freedman of some Spaniard, one of whose ancestors had taken the name of the great general who had given him Roman citizenship. In No. 3744 reference is made to the freedman of another Sertorius. The concession of the *jus civitatis* was a prerogative of the sovereign, that is to say, of the Roman people; but their generals had taken the right of according this recompense in the provinces, as generals of modern nations in remote expeditions can by delegated authority confer certain promotions and decorations. This Marius and Pompey had done, and their acts were ratified by a law. (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 8.) After the pacification of Spain, certain concessions made by Sertorius must have been confirmed, or usage caused them to be accepted.

drive him from his position, marched at once upon the city: "I will teach this schoolboy," Sertorius said, "that a general should look behind him as well as before." He first took from Pompey a legion and starved him in his camp; then defeated all his detachments, captured Lauron under his eyes, and forced him to retire as far as the Montserrat to establish his quarters in the country of the Laletani and Indigetes, in the north-eastern angle

The Nymphæum of Liria.[1]

of the peninsula. Such were the disasters of the campaign Pompey had so vain-gloriously begun (76).

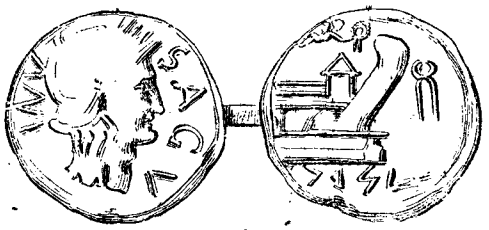
Sertorius passed the winter in reconstructing his army, "exercising his soldiers incessantly, according to the ancient method,"[2] and fortifying his position upon the Ebro, to prevent the junction of the senate's two armies, that of the north under Pompey, and of the south under Metellus. After having subjugated a few

[1] Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 118; Cic., *pro Fonteio*, 2.
[2] Sall., *Fragm.*, 250.

Celtiberian towns, one of which, Contrebia,[1] detained him forty-four days, he called to his camp the deputies of the cities which supported his cause, explained to them his plans, and obtained from them the means of renewing his munitions of war and of clothing his soldiers. At the return of spring he sent Perperna into the country of the Ilercaones, near the mouths of the Ebro, to deprive Pompey of any provisions by sea; he himself went up the valley to make it impossible for his adversary to obtain food from the upper country; and he stationed the other lieutenants, Herennius and Hirtuleius, on the sea-coast for the purpose of keeping Metellus in check, the latter being encamped in Bætica. Unfortunately, Hirtuleius was defeated by Metellus near Italica,[3] and Perperna by Pompey, which rendered a junction of the two generals possible. They marched towards each other along the eastern coast, in order to keep within reach of the fleet. To interpose his army Sertorius threw himself into the difficult country whence the Xucar (*Sucro*) and the Guadalaviar (*Turia*)[5] descend into the fertile plains of Valencia and Elcha.[6] Pompey, who was attacked first, was defeated on the banks of the Sucro; Sertorius was expecting on the following

Coin of Ilercavonia.[2]

Coin of Italica.[4]



Coin of Saguntum (p. 763).[7]

[1] The story of a part of this siege is found in a fragment of Book xci. of Livy, recovered in the last century in a palimpsest of the Vatican.

[2] M. H. I. ILERCAVONIA DERT(osa). Sailing vessel. Reverse of a bronze coin of Tiberius, struck at Ilercavonia.

[3] The men of that time, even the best of them, held the lives of others in very slight esteem. Sertorius killed the messenger on the spot who brought him news of the defeat at Italica, that the bad news might not be spread through the camp. (Frontin., *Strategem.*, ii. 7, 5.)

[4] ITALIC(a) PERM(isso) AVG(usti). Legionary eagle between two military ensigns. Reverse of a bronze coin of Tiberius, struck at Italica.

[5] The Turia or Guadalaviar, which falls into the sea near Valencia, traverses a few leagues above that city, a chasm whose precipitous walls are 600 feet high and 30 broad.

[6] The "grove of palm trees at Elcha" (p. 761) is from Laborde's *Voyage en Espagne*, vol. i. pl. 141.

[7] SAGV. INV(icta). Head of Pallas. On the reverse, a Victory crowning the prow of a vessel, pincers, and a Celtiberian inscription. Bronze coin of Saguntum.

Grove of Palm-trees at Elcha.

day to destroy him, when Metellus appeared: "If this old woman had not come up," Sertorius said, "I would have whipped that boy soundly and sent him back to Rome;" and appointing a place for his troops to meet him again he dispersed them. The battle of the Turia therefore, was both a victory and a defeat, and Sertorius would have needed a great success before he could escape

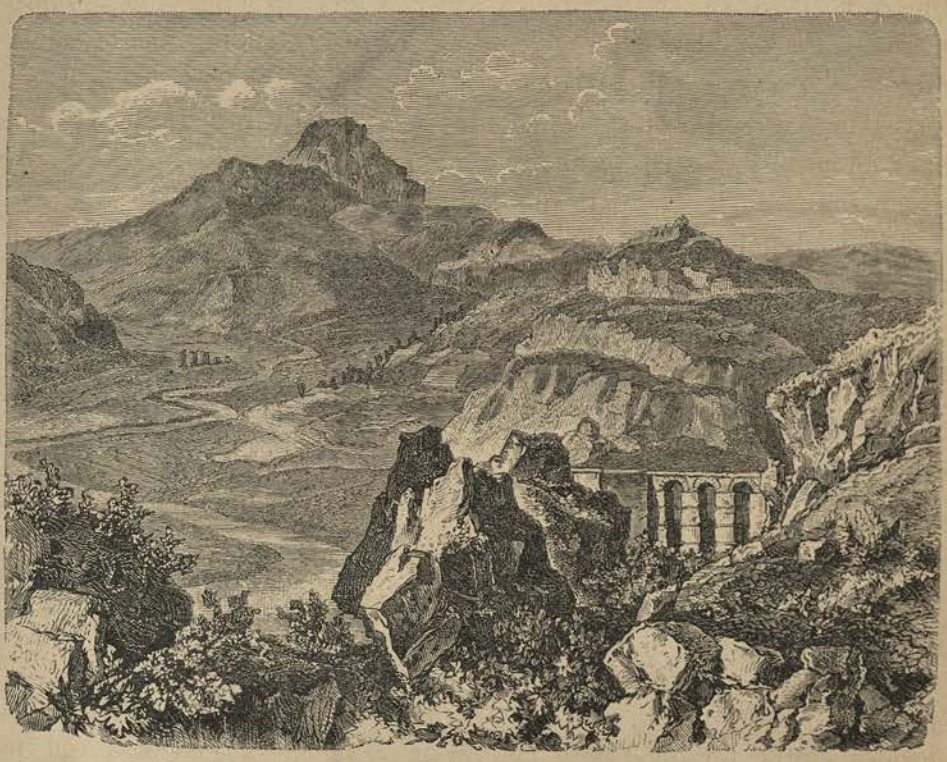
The Waterfall of Chulilla, on the Turia.[1]

from the peril into which he was thrown by the junction of these powerful armies; in reality he was defeated, since he had failed in the attempt to separate his two adversaries.

The generals met near Saguntum. At the approach of his

[1] Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, vol. i. pl. 113.

superior both in age and dignity Pompey ordered his fasces to be lowered; but the older general, knowing his young colleague's vanity, would not suffer this. The only prerogative that he reserved was to give the watchword when the two armies camped together. They were about to separate owing to the difficulty of obtaining provisions, when suddenly Sertorius attacked them. His white hind had disappeared since the last battle, but some soldiers



Ruins of the Aqueduct of Chelves, near Saguntum.[1]

meeting her brought her back to him; he bought their silence, and making known to the army that the return of this divine messenger was a presage of good fortune, he advanced, covering his march in the intention of capturing some foraging detachments sent out by the enemy. He fell, however, upon one of Pompey's divisions near enough to the main camp for Pompey to be able to despatch his entire army to their aid, which resulted, however, in the loss of 6,000 men; but, always unlucky in his lieutenants, Sertorius

[1] Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, vol. i. pl. 124.

learned that, at the same moment, Perperna, who was attacked by Metellus, had left 5,000 dead upon the field. An attack attempted on the following day upon the lines of Metellus near Saguntum proved unsuccessful. Sertorius again sent away most of his troops for a time, thus avoiding the necessity of paying and supporting them in the interval, and with the remainder he returned into the mountains, whence he directed his attacks upon the right flank of the combined army, while his allies, the pirates, were to cut off the supplies expected by sea. Winter approaching, Metellus now took up his quarters in Bætica.

Pompey, with more confidence, marched against Sertorius, but his legions, exhausted by cold, hunger, and incessant fighting, only reached, in much disorder, the country of the Vaccæi (75).

The Roman world was at that time much disturbed. War raged everywhere, by land and sea, in Asia, in Thrace,[1] in Spain, all along the coasts, where the landing of pirates to murder and pillage was constantly an object of apprehension. Even nature seemed full of threats. A pestilence beginning in Egypt attacked the domestic animals, and this destruction of oxen and horses brought ruin to agriculture, so that for three years famine decimated the population. The senate exhausted the resources of the treasury in contending with this destitution, and found it impossible to feed their armies, while in the city the famished populace broke out in riots, in one of which Cotta the consul, an estimable man, narrowly escaped being killed. He had ventured to say to the people: "Why, then, should you be at ease in Rome when the armies suffer for food?" The army of Pompey had received no pay for two years, and was in danger of being starved. Their general wrote a haughty and threatening letter to the senate, in which he said: "I have exhausted all that I have, both money and credit, and in these three campaigns you have scarcely given us a year's subsistence. Can I, then, supply the public treasury,

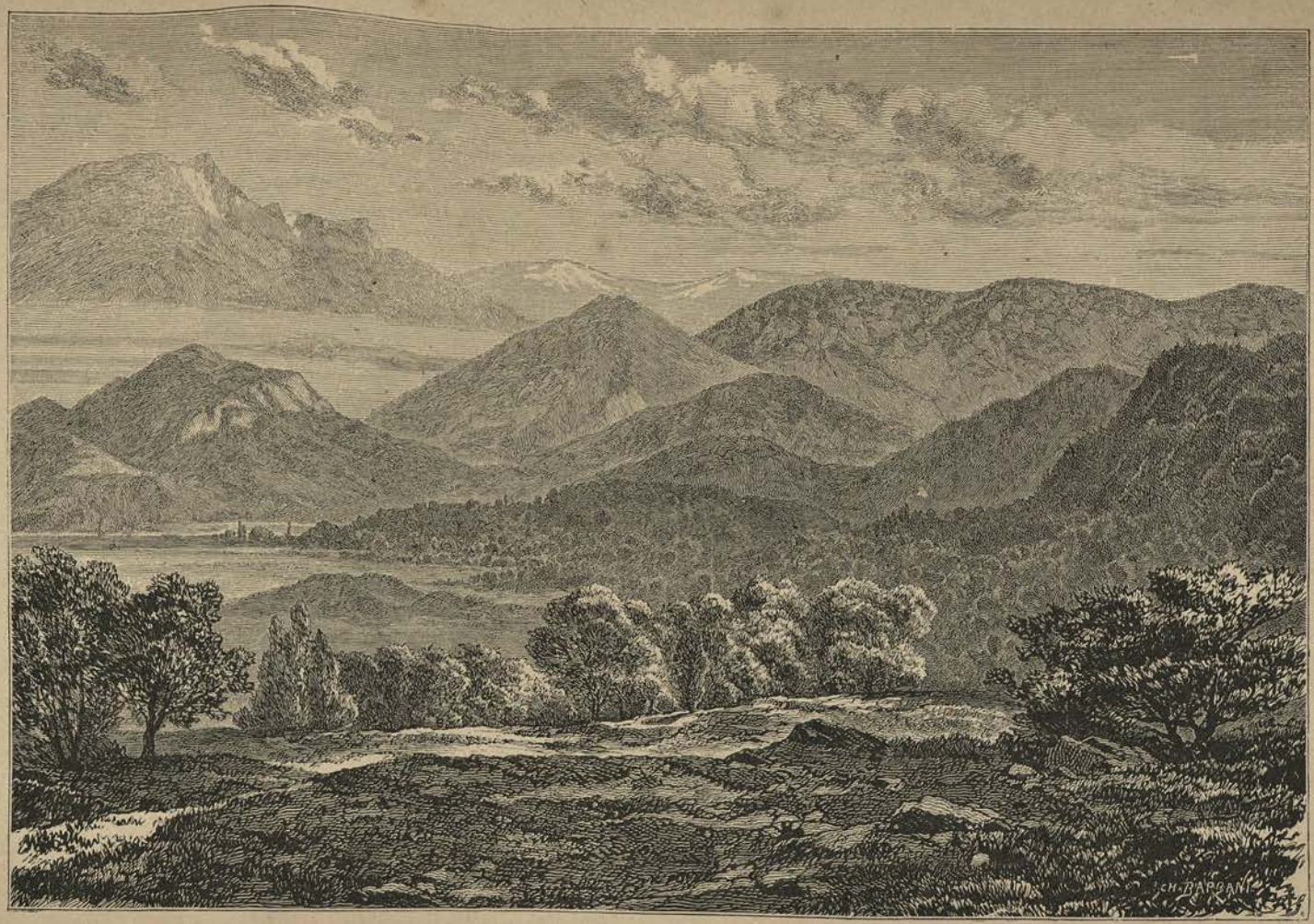
[1] During the whole duration of the war with Sertorius the senate was obliged to maintain in the eastern peninsula as many as five legions against the Dalmatians, the Thracians, and the mountaineers of the Hæmus (Balkans). This murderous strife, without profit and without glory, was temporarily ended by a brother of Lucullus, who advanced as far as the Danube and the Euxine (72–71). Macedon gained in this way a little tranquillity, and the *via Egnatia*, which Cicero calls "our military road," somewhat more security for convoys passing from Europe into Asia.

or can I maintain an army without food or money? . . . . Our services are well known to you, and in your gratitude you give us poverty and hunger. I therefore warn you, and I beg you to reflect; do not compel me to take counsel only of necessity. . . . . I warn you that my army, and with it the whole Spanish war, will be transferred into Italy." Notwithstanding the tone of this letter the consul Lucullus, who feared that Pompey might return to dispute with him the command in the Mithridatic war, made haste to send to him corn, money, and two legions.

Mithridates followed all these movements with an attentive eye. Ever since Sylla's death he had been determined to take up arms again: the successes of Sertorius promised him a useful diversion, and he sent to offer this general forty ships and 3,000 talents, asking in return the cession of Asia. Sertorius would only agree to abandon Cappadocia and Bithynia: "Our victories," he said to his counsellors, "should aggrandize, and not diminish, the empire of Rome." "What will not Sertorius command," Mithridates rejoined, "when he is at Rome, if now, a proscribed man, he makes conditions like these?" He accepted them, however, and Sertorius sent to him one of his officers, Varius, with some troops. The pirates served as a bond connecting the two allies. Fortunately for the Republic the matter went no further than an interchange of negotiations. The pirates were not susceptible of discipline, and, with a thousand miles between them, Sertorius and Mithridates could not form any scheme of concerted action.

This alliance with an enemy of Rome served as a pretext for Metellus to put a price upon the head of Sertorius; he promised as a reward for the murder 100 talents and 2,000 *jugera*, but could not shake the fidelity of any of the guards of Sertorius. After the battle of Saguntum, proud of having conquered where his young rival had experienced a reverse, Metellus had assumed the title of *imperator*, and had required wreaths of gold from the cities, and from all the poets of the province songs in honour of his prowess.

In the south and east of the Spanish peninsula almost all the nations recognized the authority of the generals of the Republic; but nothing was settled until the latter should have overthrown the great soldier who, with Hannibal and Cæsar, sums up all the



Saint Bertrand de Comminges.

military science of that century. The two proconsuls decided to penetrate into the valley of the upper Ebro, a difficult country, having a population rugged as their own mountains, and attached to the apparent defender of Spanish independence. Metellus and Pompey advanced, driving Sertorius before them, and on one occasion believed that they had surrounded him on the banks of the Bilbilis, at that time swollen by rains. But Sertorius discovered a passage; he then made a great fence of trees in a semi-circle in front of the ford and set them on fire, while his army crossed.[1] The Romans, after some delay caused by this novel obstacle, renewed the pursuit on the opposite bank, and so sharply that Sertorius narrowly escaped being taken at the gate of Calagurris (Calahorra). The Spaniards took him on their shoulders and passed him from one to another up to the walls,[2] whilst in the rear his guard held back the enemy by the sacrifice of their own lives.

Coin of Calagurris (Calahorra).[3]

A few days later Sertorius escaped from the city, notwithstanding the vigilance of the besiegers, rejoined his troops, and resumed his incessant attacks, till the Romans, who could no longer feed their armies, were compelled to retire, Metellus into Further Spain, Pompey into Gaul, where he established his winter quarters (74).

Here serious perils were to be apprehended. The Gauls of the Province, seeing that the Spanish war still continued, had taken up arms again and attacked Massilia and Narbo, which Fonteius had much difficulty in protecting, and Pompey was obliged to occupy the winter in extinguishing a revolt which cut his communications with Italy, and prevented him from obtaining supplies.

The military events of the years 73 and 72 are unknown. If we are to believe the stories spread abroad by his enemies, Sertorius wasted these years in luxury and profligacy, losing that activity which hitherto had been his chief strength. Hatred and envy kept watch about him. The senators whom he had called together saw themselves with vexation compelled to obey an

[1] Frontinus, i. 5, 1.

[2] Plut. (*Sert.*, 14) cites the fact without naming the city where the occurrence took place.

[3] C. VAL. C. SEX. AEDILES. Ox's head, front view. Small bronze of Calagurris.

adventurer. They tried to make him odious by overwhelming in his name the Spaniards with exactions. All this is extremely improbable. This vicious luxury suddenly appearing in the life of the hardy soldier is not credible, and he was not the man to allow extravagance by which his projects were likely to suffer. But some of the exiles who had gathered around him, feeling that they had sacrificed enough, sought the opportunity to make their peace with Rome, even at the expense of the valiant leader who had saved them. And, furthermore, the war had become wearisome even to the Spaniards: the charge of feeding and clothing the army of their liberators appeared very heavy; signs of discontent began to appear, which Sertorius repressed with severity; and embittered by this unexpected resistance, rendered suspicious, also, because he believed himself surrounded by invisible enemies, he was tempted to commit acts which alienated his men even more. Many of the Spanish children left at Osca were sold or were murdered. A proscribed chief, defending himself by punishments, was already in part conquered; and a conspiracy being formed, of which Perperna was the head, Sertorius was assassinated at a banquet.

Perperna, who took his place, had neither his talents nor the confidence of the soldiers; he experienced only reverses, and ended by falling into the hands of Pompey. To save his life he made a proposal to deliver up the letters which had been written to Sertorius by Roman nobles, asking him to come into Italy. Pompey had already the intention of breaking with the senate, and had no desire to abandon to their vengeance the very men whom he intended to make his friends; he therefore burned the letters without reading them, and caused the traitor to be put to death.

However, much blood was yet to be shed before peace could be restored to Spain. The native chiefs, who, though associated with Sertorius, had fought only for themselves, seized upon the strongholds and defended themselves for a year with the resolution that Spaniards have always shown when besieged: at Calagurris they went so far as to kill their own women and children and feed upon the salted flesh.[1]

[1] *Quoque diutius armata juventus sua viscera visceribus suis aleret, infelices cadaverum reliquias sallire non dubitavit.* (Val. Max., VII. vi. 3.)

After the death of Sertorius, Metellus returned to Italy, and the later operations of the war were conducted by Pompey, who appears to have finished it alone, and certainly obtained all the honour of it. In the reorganization of the two provinces he laid the foundation of the influence which he had later in that country, where there are still standing several triumphal arches, to which tradition attaches his name. He granted citizenship to many Spaniards who had served under him in the country of the Vascones; he built a city called by his own name, *Pompelo* (Pampeluna), and in the upper valley of the Garonne he founded for the remnant of the troops of Sertorius the city of *Lugdunum Convenarum* (Saint Bertrand de Comminges);[1] he also erected on the crest of the Pyrenees an ostentatious monument, with an inscription to the effect that, between the Alps and the Pillars of Hercules, he had taken 876 cities.

A new war in Italy awaited the vain-glorious general; Crassus summoned him against the gladiators, as Metellus had called him against Sertorius.

[1] The limits of the Narbonensis are marked, therefore, by *Lugdunum Convenarum*, Toulouse the country of the Ruteni Provinciales, and the Rhone as far as Geneva. Cicero says in the *pro Fonteio* that the Italians crowded into this rich country, whence Cæsar later derived vast supplies.

[2] Engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2133 of the catalogue.

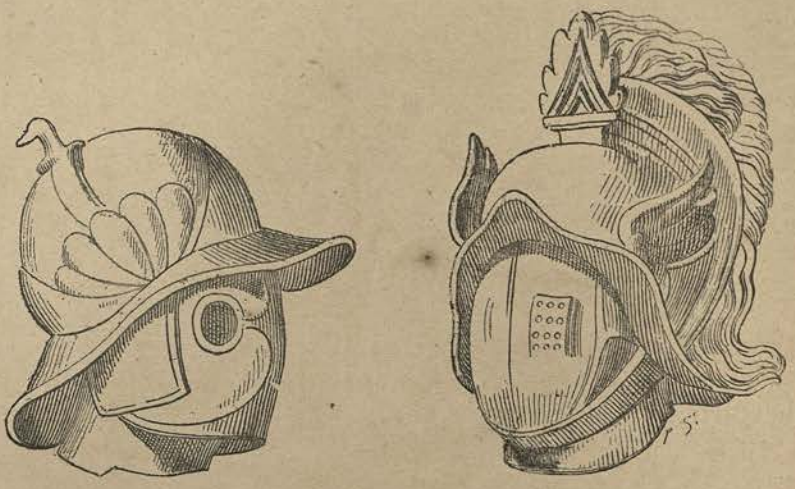
Eagles supporting a Wreath.[2]

CHAPTER XLIX.

SPARTACUS; RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE POWER OF THE TRIBUNES; WAR WITH THE PIRATES.

I.—The Gladiators (73—71).

A CERTAIN Lentulus, called *Batuatus*, or the fencing-master,[1] a freedman of some member of the Cornelian *gens*, kept gladiators at Capua, and let them out for hire to the Roman nobles for their games and festivals. Two hundred of these,



Gladiators' Helmets.[2]

mostly Gauls or Thracians, made a conspiracy to escape. Their plan being discovered, seventy-eight, warned in time, fled from their master's vengeance; entering a cook's shop they seized the spits and knives, and thus armed made their way to the mountains,

[1] *Batuo* signifies *to fence*, whence are derived the French words *battre, bataille, bâton.*

[2] From Mazois, paintings in the house of Scaurus at Pompeii.

as any Calabrian will now do who has brought himself within the law. Upon the road they met some wagons loaded with gladiatorial weapons; these they captured, and thus armed occupied Mount Vesuvius. This volcano had been dormant since the memory of man, and vegetation covered its slopes; the band easily found an inaccessible place in which to hide themselves, and immediately "elected three chiefs, two Gauls, Crixus and Œnomaüs, and a Thracian, Spartacus, who with great strength and extraordinary courage united a prudence and gentleness more characteristic of a Greek than of a barbarian. It is related that when he was brought to Rome to be sold, as he lay asleep a serpent was seen coiled upon his face. His Thracian wife was possessed by a prophetic spirit, and practised the arts of magic; she declared that this sign foretold to Spartacus a great and formidable power, and that the end should be prosperous. She was with him at that time, and accompanied him in his flight (73).

A Sorceress.[1]

"They defeated some soldiers sent against them from Capua,

[1] Marble statue, from the *Capitol Museum*.

and joyfully took possession of their weapons. The prætor Clodius, coming from Rome with 3,000 men, besieged them in their fort. The only way of descent was by a narrow and difficult footpath, which Clodius guarded. Elsewhere there were precipices clothed with wild vines. The band of Spartacus cut vine-branches and made strong ladders, by which they descended the cliffs safely, one who remained above throwing their weapons down to them. The Romans, being suddenly attacked, fled, and left their camp in the power of the gladiators. After this success many herdsmen and active shepherds of the neighbourhood joined them; some of these they armed, and others they employed as scouts and skirmishers."

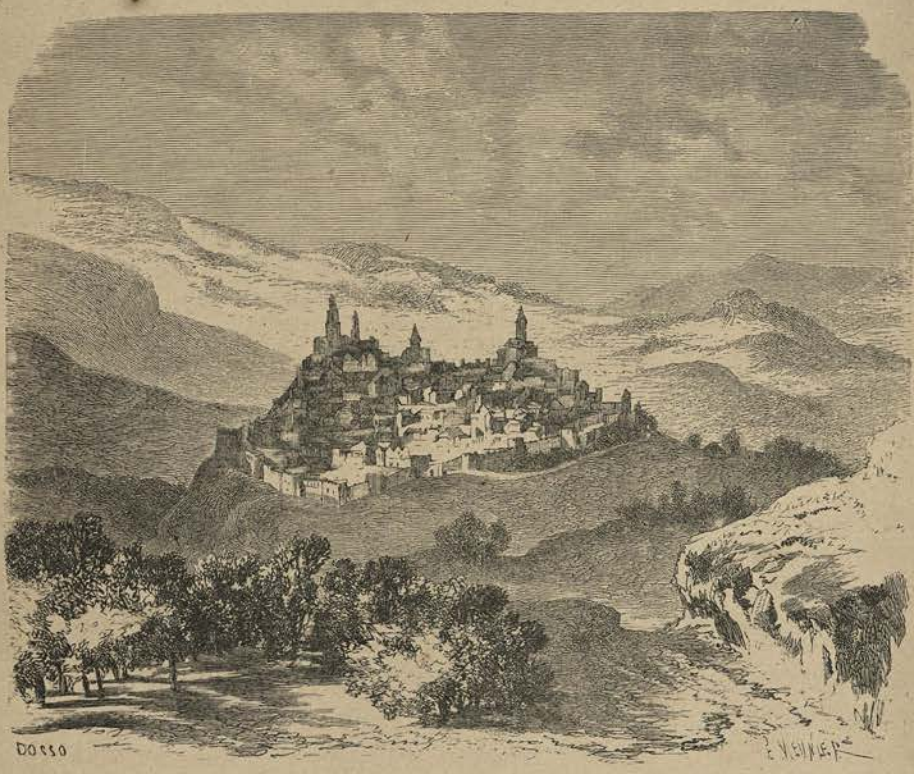
A Shepherd.[1]

A second general was sent against them, the prætor Publius Varinius; they defeated one of his lieutenants who attacked them with 2,000 men, and a second officer had a narrow escape with all his corps; Varinius himself was several times repulsed, losing his lictors and his war-horse, which Spartacus appropriated. The bandit chief showed himself a skilful general and prudent tactician. He never allowed himself to be dazzled by success, and while his

[1] Statue in the *Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. iii. pl. 34.

Bridge at Cora.[1]

band made war like slaves let loose against their masters, he matured plans of attack and, still better, plans for retreat. He understood perfectly well that bands like his could not permanently get the better of the Roman power, and it was his intention to lead them towards the Alps, so that crossing these mountains they should each make his escape to his native country, Gaul or Thrace. But to obtain revenge and pleasure, to kill the men, to



View of Nuceria.[1]

ravish the women, then an orgy in some captured villa, whose owners should be their cup-bearers, or to celebrate for a dead comrade pompous funeral rites, at which 300 Romans should fight in their turn as gladiators—this was all that these degraded creatures desired from liberty. When Spartacus spoke of marching northwards his ribald band refused to follow him.

The senate had at first been ashamed to despatch legionaries

[1] From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

against enemies like these, but now they had begun to be formidable. Many farms had been laid in ashes, and even cities—Nola, Nuceria, Cora, Metapontum had been sacked with the fury of men who at last could glut their long pent-up revenge. On one occasion, to save the remnant in a city where his gladiators were killing everybody, Spartacus was obliged to sound an alarm as if the legions were approaching and his band must escape with all haste to avoid capture. He made Thurii his depot, and established workshops and stores of arms; from this place he issued an appeal calling all the slaves to liberty, and 100,000 men had soon gathered about him.

Coin of Metapontum.[1]

Necessity now silenced the scruples of the senate; two consular armies were made ready against these bandits who were such valiant soldiers (72). Gellius, one of the consuls, fell unexpectedly upon a body of Germans, who, through pride, had withdrawn from the army of Spartacus, and cut them to pieces. But he was less fortunate with the main army. Lentulus, his colleague, who had divided his force with the intention of surrounding the enemy, experienced in turn grave reverses, and another army of 10,000 men, arriving from the Cisalpina, had the same fate. At the elections of 71 no candidate presented himself to solicit the dangerous honour of fighting this hero who had appeared under the jerkin of a slave.

Crassus, that lieutenant of Sylla to whom was due the main credit of victory before the Colline Gate, offered himself, and was commissioned with the title of prætor. Attracted by his renown many volunteers came forward, and eight legions were soon organized. He encamped in Picenum to await Spartacus, who was advancing in that direction, whilst his lieutenant Mummius and two legions, expressly prohibited from fighting or even skirmishing, made a wide circuit to follow the enemy at a distance. But on the first occasion that offered Mummius gave battle to Spartacus, and was defeated with great loss, while those who survived threw down their arms and fled. Crassus was very severe to Mummius and his soldiers. Five hundred among those who

[1] This coin represents the river Achelous personified as a horned man, holding the reed and the patera. (De Luynes, *Métap.*, pl. 2.)

had set the example of cowardice were separated from the rest, and every tenth man put to death (decimated).

"Spartacus now retreated through Lucania towards the sea, and in the straits meeting with some Cilician pirate ships, he had thoughts of attempting Sicily, where by landing 2,000 men he hoped to rekindle the war of the slaves. But after the pirates had struck a bargain with him and received his money, they deceived him, and sailed away. He thereupon retired again from the sea, and established his army in the peninsula of Rhegium; there Crassus came upon him, and set to work to build a wall across the isthmus, thus keeping his soldiers at once from idleness and his foes from forage. This great and difficult work he perfected in a space of time short beyond all expectation, making a ditch from one sea to the other, over the neck of land 300 stadia long, 15 feet broad, and as much in depth, and above it built a wonderfully high and strong wall.[2] All which Spartacus at first slighted and despised, but when provisions began to fail, and he found he was walled in, taking the opportunity of a snowy, stormy night, he filled up part of the ditch with earth and boughs of trees, and so passed his army over.

Coin of Rhegium.[1]

"Crassus was afraid lest he should march directly to Rome, but was soon relieved of that fear when he saw his enemies dividing; he defeated one corps of them, but could not pursue the slaughter because Spartacus suddenly came up and checked their flight. Now he began to repent that he had written to the senate to call Lucullus out of Thrace and Pompey out of Spain, so that he did all he could to finish the war at once, knowing that its honours would accrue to him that came to his assistance. Resolving, therefore, first to set upon those that had mutinied and

[1] Heads of Apollo and Diana coupled. On the reverse, ΡΗΓΙΝΩΝ, and a tripod. Bronze coin of Rhegium. (See vol. i. p. 469, another coin of this city.)

[2] Probably this was in the region of Castrovillari and Cassano, where the breadth of the isthmus is only about twelve or thirteen leagues; 300 stadia are fifty-five and a half kilometers, about thirty-eight miles.

encamped apart, he sent 6,000 men to surprise them, but being discovered by two women that were sacrificing for the enemy, they had been in great hazard had not Crassus immediately appeared and engaged in a battle which proved to be a most bloody one. Of 12,300 whom he killed, two only were found wounded in the back, the rest all having died standing in their ranks and fighting bravely. Spartacus, after this discomfiture, retired to the mountains of Petelia (Strongoli, in Calabria), followed by the lieutenant and the quæstor of Crassus. But when Spartacus rallied and faced them they were utterly routed and fled; this success, however, ruined Spartacus, because it encouraged the slaves, who now disdained any longer to avoid fighting or to obey their officers, but upon the march northwards came to them with sword in hand and compelled them to march back again through Lucania against the Romans —the very thing which Crassus desired, for news was already brought that Pompey was at hand, and people began to talk openly that the honour of this war was reserved for him.

Coin of Petelia.[1]

"Crassus, therefore, eager to fight a decisive battle, encamped very near the enemy, and began to make lines of circumvallation; but the slaves made a sally and attacked the pioneers. As fresh supplies came in on either side, Spartacus, seeing there was no avoiding it, set all his army in array, and when his horse was brought him, he drew out his sword and killed him, saying if he got the day he should have a great many better horses of the enemies', and if he lost it he should have no need of this! And so, making directly towards Crassus himself, through the midst of arms and wounds, he missed him, but slew two centurions that fell upon him together, standing his ground and bravely defending himself until he was cut to pieces" (71).[2]

Of this formidable army only the fragments now remained, who, returning too late to the first design of their brave leader, made their way northward, seeking the Alps. Pompey on his

[1] Head of Ceres. On the reverse, ΠΕΤΗΛΙΝΩΝ; Jupiter wielding his thunderbolt and walking; a star and letter H. Bronze coin of Petelia.

[2] Plut., *Crass.*, and Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 14.

return from Spain encountered them, and slew 5,000 more. "Crassus has conquered Spartacus in battle," he wrote to the senate, "but I have plucked up the whole war by the roots."

Spartacus had as far as possible reduced the horrors of this war. In Rhegium were found 3,000 Roman prisoners whom he had spared. The senate, however, had no pity for those who had caused Rome to tremble; 6,000 crosses were set up on the high road between Capua and Rome, and as many prisoners hung upon them. The conquerors, rejoicing and wreathed with flowers, returned to Rome along this dolorous way, beneath the anguish and the curses of the dying wretches.

Roman Warriors.[1]

Pompey, who had been absent seven years, was impatiently awaited as an invincible hero by the people; Crassus obtained only an ovation. He had fought against a hundred thousand enemies, but Rome was not willing to avow that a second time she had trembled before her slaves.

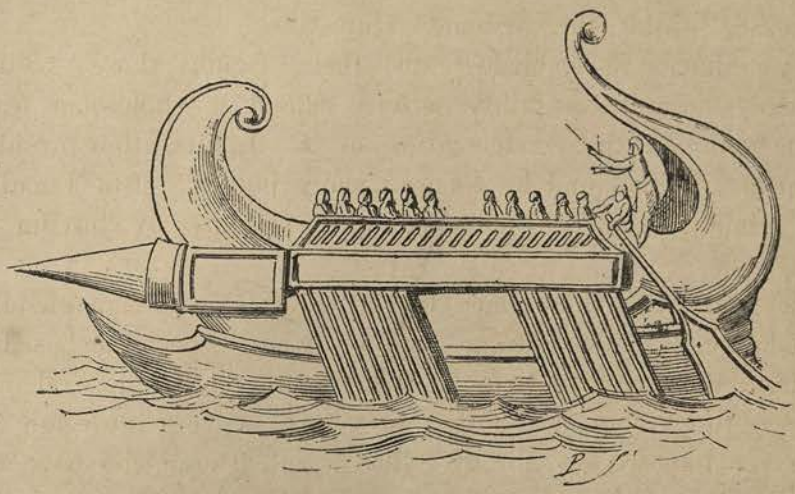
II.—Re-establishment of the Power of the Tribunes (70).

During his consulship Lepidus had re-established the distributions of corn at reduced price, which Sylla had suppressed; in 77 Lepidus failed in an attempt to destroy by violence the entire work of the dictator; but the year following, the tribune Licinius, supported by Cæsar, very nearly succeeded. If he obtained nothing, he at least spoke to the people, and, notwithstanding the Cornelian law, which had left the tribuneship only a vain shadow, *inanis species*,[2] he forced the consuls to reply by

[1] From Nicolini, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pl. iii., a painting in the gladiators' barracks at Pompeii.

[2] Discourse of Licinius Macer in the *Fragments* of Sallust.

his sarcasms. Shortly after he fell by an assassin's hand.[1] He bore the same name with that tribune of the people created four centuries earlier upon the Sacred Mount, and it is possible he may have been his descendant. If he fell under the hand of the nobles he atoned perhaps not only for himself, but for the founder of an office which now seemed to many, more odious than ever. But the ally which in the time of Coriolanus had been useful to the first tribunes, now served them again; a famine, caused by the scanty harvests and, above all, by the depredations of the pirates, who arrested the supplies on their way



Greek Pirate Vessel (*hemiolia*).[2]

to Rome, exasperated the people. To appease them, one of the consuls of the year 75, C. Cotta, re-established the distribution of five bushels of corn monthly, *annona*,[3] and made a proposal to

[1] Cic., *Brut.*, 60. Macer says, *circumventus est*, and further on, *ad exitium usque insontis tribuni dominatus est*, the consul Curio. This period was more agitated than the paucity of documents which remain concerning it would lead us to believe. In the *pro Cluentio*, 34, Cicero speaks of a quæstor who sought to excite insurrection in the army, and of another senator condemned for having caused the revolt of a legion in Illyria. Macer (in Sall., *Hist. fragm.*) speaks of the despotism exercised by Catulus, of the tumults which took place during the consulships of Brutus and Mamercus, of the tyranny of Curio, whom he accuses of having killed Licinius, etc.

[2] Enlarged from a coin.

[3] It is not said that Cotta re-established them, but Macer speaks of these distributions as being very recent, and before this mentions Cotta as chief of a third party, who sought by frivolous concessions to deceive the people. (Sall., *Hist. fragm.*)

restore to the tribunes the right of haranguing the people and of holding other offices. The tribune Opimius, however, who brought forward a law contrary to those of Sylla, and attempted to oppose his veto to a decree of the senate, by a decision of the prætor lost both his property and his office.[1]

The *Annona*.[2]

The reaction, therefore, went on slowly, but it went on, aided by the very abuse which the senate made of their victory, giving up the allies to pillage, and selling the verdicts of the tribunals. "These disorders will never cease," said the tribune Quinctius, "until we have re-established in their rights those vigilant magistrates whose incorruptible activity caused a wholesome fear." He even obtained the condemnation of C. Junius, the presiding officer of a tribunal, and he accused many judges.[3] But Lucullus, at that time consul (74), stopped him, perhaps by buying his silence.

The year after there came to the tribuneship a man of talent and audacity, Licinius Macer, one of whose speeches has been saved from the wreck of time: "What a difference," he exclaimed, "between the rights transmitted to you from your ancestors and the slavery imposed on you by Sylla! . . . . Those who have been set up to defend you have turned the whole power you gave them against you. They have submitted themselves to the rule of a faction who in time of war have assumed the control of the treasury, of the army, and of the provinces. In all these civil commotions, though other objects are pretended, the contention on both sides is for sovereignty over you.[4] . . . . One thing only has

[1] Cic., *II in Verr.*, i. 60: *bona, fortunas, ornamenta omnia amiserit.*

[2] ANNONA AVGVSTI CERES. Bronze of Nero's time. The *annona*, indicated by her cornucopia, is standing before the seated figure of Ceres; the goddess holds out to her ears of corn.

[3] Cic., *pro Cluentio*, 33, 34; Ps. Ascon., p. 103; Plut., *Lucull.*, 5.

[4] Phædrus (i. 15) brings forward this idea, whose truth was to be made apparent to the Romans of that day:—

In principatu commutando sæpius
Nil præter domini nomen mutant pauperes.

—"By the change of rulers the poor usually gain nothing but a change of masters."

continued to be the aim of both parties—to take from you the tribunitial power, the weapon prepared by your ancestors for the defence of your liberty.

"Give not to slavery the title of tranquillity. . . . . Reflect, too, that unless you gain the mastery they will press you harder than before, since all injustice seeks to increase its safety by severity.

"What think you that we should do, then? some one will say. First of all I think that you should lay aside your present fashion of talking much and doing little, and of forgetting liberty the moment you leave the Forum. You yourselves, by executing the lordly commands of the consuls and decrees of the senators, give them your sanction and authority, and increase and strengthen the despotism exercised over you. . . . . I do not recommend armed violence or a secession, but only that you should forbear to shed your blood in their behalf. Let them hold and exercise their offices in their own way; let them obtain triumphs; let them pursue Mithridates as well as Sertorius and the remnant of the exiles with the images of their ancestors; but let danger and toil be far from you who have no share in the advantage of them; unless indeed your services have been repaid by the late law for the distribution of corn, a law by which they have estimated the liberty of each individual at the price of five bushels of corn, an allowance not more liberal than that which is granted to prisoners."

Macer did not counsel a refusal to pay taxes,[1] as has been done in modern times, for the reason that there was no longer any tax paid in Rome; he proposed the refusal of military duty, a grave novelty, for Sertorius and Spartacus were not yet defeated; Mithridates was again assuming the offensive; Thrace required repeated expeditions; and the pirates covered the seas. If he had been obeyed the nobles would certainly have sacrificed their

[1] Macer adds a sentence worth remembering for the comprehension of the corn laws: "This corn which they give you is your own property, *vestrarum rerum*, and this paltry boon suffices not to relieve you from domestic anxieties, *neque absolvit cura familiari tam parva res*." He was right on the first point, and all the customary declamations on this subject will never make it true that, to the mind of the ancients, the tribute of natural products paid by subject nations was not the property of the Roman people themselves. (See p. 425.) On the second point also he was right: a family could not live upon its five *modii* monthly. This assistance given to the Roman poor no more relieved them from the necessity of labour than does the aid we furnish to our objects of charity enable them to live in idleness.

animosities for the safety of Rome; but to follow their tribune the people required a spirit of discipline and a resolution which they no longer possessed. Men continued, therefore, in the words of Macer, to speak instead of acting; but they spoke much. They cried out against those tribunals which Sylla had established, where the senator who had devoured a province was secure of impunity on condition of abandoning a portion of his plunder to his colleagues who had remained at home, and who were now his judges. Men extolled the beneficent severity of the early censorship, the good results of the tribunes' veto, things all now dead, but which, if they could be restored to life, would give back tranquillity and dignity to the State.

Far off in Spain, Pompey heard these complaints. Such had been the skilful moderation of his conduct that both parties feared him equally, and at the same time both looked to him with hope. He assumed the position of mediator, writing to Rome that if before his return harmony should not have been restored between the senate and the people, he himself would labour to adjust matters immediately upon his arrival.[1] Another general, who became an emperor, began his political career thus, eighty years ago. The Roman senate was neither more clear-sighted nor stronger than the French Directory. Living, like the latter, by expedients, and from day to day, it accepted, for the sake of gaining a little time, this ominous interposition of a military chief, and made reply to the tribunes that it would be necessary to await the return of the great Pompey (72).

He arrived at the close of the following year (71); and the applause of the people won him completely. The whole city went out to meet him; he accepted, rather than solicited, the consulship and a triumph. Having been a general before he was a soldier, he now became consul without having been quæstor, ædile, or prætor.[2] Crassus, who, notwithstanding his public services and his profuse liberality towards the people,[3] was almost forgotten

[1] Sall., *Hist. fragm.*

[2] He was so much a stranger at this time to civil affairs that he asked his friend Varro to prepare for him memoranda on the home administration, a sort of consular manual, εἰσαγωγικὸν, as to what a consul should say or do in the senate. (Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.*, xiv. 7.)

[3] Plutarch, in *Crassus*. He had invited the populace to an entertainment where 10,000 tables were set, and had distributed among them corn enough to last three months.

in this triumph of his rival, dared not show his discontent; and it was only after obtaining Pompey's approbation that he solicited the second consulship.

There are two kinds of ambition, that of superior men who feel themselves able to accomplish great things, and that of the incapable, who seek power for the mere enjoyment of it. To the Gracchi, Sylla, and Cæsar belongs the former kind of ambition, Marius and Pompey had only the latter. For six years Pompey had kept aloof from party strife, but when war was at an end the Forum resumed its power; there once more reputations were to be won and authority to be gained. Either Pompey must fall quickly into obscurity or he must at last speak and show his colours. Should he take sides with the senate or with the people? Neither his own antecedents nor the welfare of the State acted as the deciding influence. The senate had leaders after its own heart, men filled with the *esprit de corps*, having but little personal ambition, partisans of law and order, such law and order, at least, as Sylla had created. Catulus, for example, was the oracle of this assembly, and Lucullus its hero. In the senate Pompey would have been simply absorbed. He remembered that after his successes against Lepidus the attempt had been made to compel him to disband his army. Sylla, moreover, had left nothing more to be done for the nobility by which their gratitude could be secured; the people, on the contrary, awaited everything, and could bestow everything in return: Pompey went over to the people.

In an assembly convoked by a tribune at the gates of the city before the triumph of Pompey, the latter had declared that the popular magistracy must be set free from its restrictions, that the provinces must be relieved from pillage, and the tribunals purged from venality—that is to say, that at every point the authority of the senate must be overthrown and the work of the dictator undone.[1] Very early in his official career, a Pompeian law, sharply contested by the senatorial leaders, but supported by Crassus and Cæsar, restored to the tribuneship all its rights. Pompey's legions, encamped near the city, had rendered it impossible for the senate to make an effectual resistance (70).

[1] Cic., *I in Verr.*, 15. This tribune was M. Lollius Palicanus, and acted as Pompey's agent in the affair. (See vol. i. pp. 326 and 434), and the coin commemorating this occurrence.

After the people came the turn of the knights. They obtained the re-establishment of their privileges of farming out the revenue of the province of Asia, and they claimed the judgeships as eagerly as the people had clamoured for the old tribunate. But on this latter point Pompey left the chief part to others.

Cicero, though very brave in the Forum and the curia, where the word was power, had less courage in the ordinary routine of life. After the two orations, one of which at least was a direct attack on the Cornelian legislation, he went off prudently to Athens and Rhodes to obtain from the Greeks the sole treasure they still possessed, the art of Isocrates.[1] Rome had already seen great orators, but never that harmonious fluency, that brilliancy, that inexhaustible raciness, that clearness of style which permanently stamped the Latin language. At thirty years of age (76) he entered official life as quæstor in Sicily, filling the position with honour, and he was soliciting the ædileship at the time when the Sicilians entrusted to him their cause against Verres.[3] Cicero saw that in the midst of the reaction at this time going on, and in which he cordially sympathized, such a case might be raised to the height of a great political event.[4] Although a member of the senate since his quæstorship, he belonged to the equestrian order. Here lay his friendship, his interests, and hence came his political ideas. Cicero desired to have the *judicia* given back to the knights according to the law of Caius Gracchus, for the purpose of re-constructing that *medius ordo* which would maintain the balance of power in the State.[5] Now Verres was a senator; the Metelli and the Scipios supported him; Hortensius, the consul-elect, was his counsel, and the accused said openly that he was sure of acquittal

Coin of Rhodes.[2]

[1] This residence of two years in Greece (79–78) is explained by motives of health and the desire to complete his literary education. This may be the real explanation. In 79 Sylla had abdicated.

[2] Head of the sun with rays, right profile. Rhodian drachme. (See p. 126, the Rhodian rose.) [The colossus of Rhodes had been an image of Helios, perhaps copied on the coins.—*Ed.*]

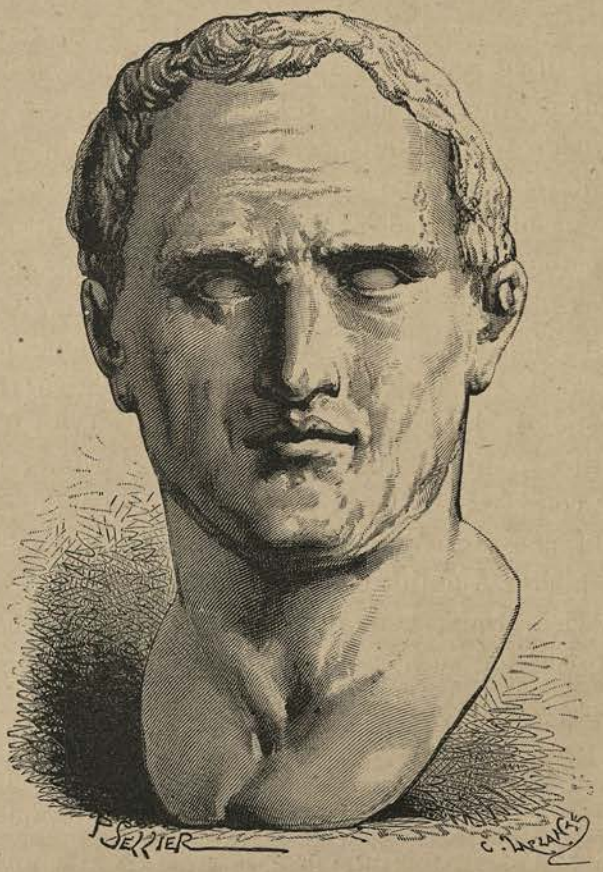
[3] Verres had been for three years prætor in Sicily (73–71).

[4] Cicero says expressly (*II in Verr.*, v. 69) that the law concerning the judicia was proposed in consequence of the prosecution of Verres.

[5] Cicero served at once his own interests and those of his party; Hortensius was the leader at the bar, and the *Verrine* orations ousted him. Ultimately the two advocates often pleaded on the same side, but Hortensius always allowed Cicero to speak last. (Cf. *pro Murena*; *pro Rabirio*, etc.

because he had divided his three years' plunder into three parts, one for his advocate, one for his judges, and the third only for himself. Cicero attacked him boldly, and in the opening sentences of his speech showed his policy (70).

"There has long existed an opinion fatal to the Republic, and even among foreign nations it has become a matter of common



Cicero.[1]

remark, that in your courts a rich man cannot be condemned." He then refers to the words of Catulus reproaching the senators who by their venality as judges had re-established the tribunitian power, and Pompey's words: "The provinces have been pillaged and justice auctioned. These abuses must be arrested." [2]

[1] From a bust of Parian marble in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3294. [It differs widely from other busts, and must be regarded as of doubtful authenticity.—*Ed.*]

[2] He says of the senate (*de Leg.*, iii. 12): *Non modo et censores, sed etiam et judices omnes*

"This I undertake," he exclaims, "this duty of my ædileship most glorious and most honourable, I promise to perform; .... everything shall not only be made public, but also, where evidence can be had, shall be matter of legal action,—everything of an infamous and disgraceful character that has been done in judicial business within the ten years of the jurisdiction of the senate."[1] And he ventured to add, forgetting Rutilius and the many scandalous acquittals: "The Roman people shall learn through me why and how it is that when the equestrian order exercised jurisdiction for almost fifty years in succession in no case of a Roman knight acting as judge did there ever occur the slighest suspicion of venality."

Verres, in alarm, fled after the first hearing, abandoning to the Sicilians 45,000,000 sesterces. But the avenging eloquence of Cicero pursued him even in his exile. The orator wrote what he had not been able to deliver; he unrolled the long picture of the crimes of Verres, and ended as he had begun with threats against the nobles. "So long as force constrained her, Rome endured royal despotism; but on the day when the tribuneship recovered its rights, your reign, mark you, was ended." Their power, indeed, could not survive these scandalous revelations: an uncle of Cæsar, the prætor Aurelius Cotta, carried a law[2] by which, according to the wise arrangement of Plautius Sylvanus, the *judicia* were divided between the senators, the knights, and the tribunes of the treasury.[3]

potest defatigare. In 74, however, the senate had timidly asked for a law against the venality of the judges, which law neither L. Lucullus nor his brother Marcus, who succeeded him in the consulship, were willing to propose. (Cic., *pro Cluentio*, 49.)

[1] Upon the corruption and venality of the tribunals, see Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 22, 35, 37; Walter, *Geschichte des röm. Rechts.*, ch. xxviii. § 237–8; Ascon. in Cic., *II in Verr.*, v. 141–145, and Cic., *ad Att.*, i. 16. When venality did not succeed they had recourse to entreaties. See a singular example of these supplications in Cic., *pro Scauro* (Orelli), p. 28.

[2] See in *II in Verr.*, iii. 96, the efforts of Aurelius, who spoke every day from the rostra against the senatorial courts.

[3] The tribunes of the treasury, *curatores* of the tribes (see vol. i. p429), were originally the army paymasters. (Cf. Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, vii. 10; Varro, i. 4; Gaius, *Inst.*, iv. 27; and Festus, *s.v. Ærarii.*) It is not known in what way the *tribuni ærarii*, originally officials, became a class in the State; doubtless they were required by reason of their financial responsibility to possess a certain amount of property, and the name of *tribuni ærarii* came at last to be applied to all who had that amount, as *knight* was assumed by right of property. In the latter days of the Republic the equestrian *census* was 400,000 sesterces, and that of the *ducenary* judges in the time of Augustus was 200,000. It may be supposed that the tribunes of the treasury

Cicero gained a brilliant victory. It did not, however, prevent the accuser of Verres from defending a few years later Fonteius, the spoiler of Narbonensis. In the eyes of the great advocate his art took precedence even of justice itself. Concerning the latter, he was not always solicitous, for his language was "that of the cause, not of the speaker;"[1] and there are always to be found artists in pleading for an impossible defence

This year (70) was one of expiation for the senators. The restoration of the tribuneship to its early rights took from them half what Sylla had given them, and the prosecution of Verres deprived them of the rest. Humiliated as a political body, they were personally attacked by the censorship, which also reappeared at this decisive date. Sixty-four senators were expelled; the nobility itself, which Cicero still pursued with his sarcasms, was thus degraded.[2]

Notwithstanding all the blood shed by Sylla, his political work had not lasted eight years, and the constitution of the Gracchi was again emerging.

When the censors made out their list of the equestrian order, Pompey, who, although consul, was not yet senator in rank,[3] appeared as knight merely,[4] in order to do honour to the new power of his order. He came into the Forum, leading his horse by the bridle. "Have you made all the campaigns required by the law?" the censor asked, and Pompey replied: "I have made them all, and under myself as general." This haughty answer was an insult to his country's law and to the principles of equality; but the crowd, who only sought a master, applauded; even the censors rose, and accompanied him to his house, followed by all the populace.

Pompey was for the moment the hero of the multitude, but never was popular hero more ill-suited to play his part; to live

had an intermediate fortune, 300,000 sesterces, for they are placed in the judicial laws of Augustus between the knights and the *ducenaries*. In this case they would have been citizens of the second class, the knights forming the first and the *ducenarii* the third.

[1] Cic., *pro Cluentio*, 50.

[2] *II in Verr.*, v. 71.

[3] And could not be, since he had not before his consulship filled any senatorial office, which would have given him the *jus sententiæ dicendæ*.

[4] Soon after, in 67, Roscius Otho, the tribune, fixed the *census* of the knights at 400,000 sesterces (about £3,200), and assigned to them in the theatres fourteen rows of separate seats. (Livy, *Epit.*, xcix.; Dion., xxxvi. 25.)

among the people, to be of access to everyone, to undertake warmly the cause of even the humblest citizen, to know every man by name, and to manifest an indefatigable activity in behalf of each man's rights and pleasures; to speak on every cause and for every individual, such was the hard life of the demagogue.[1] Pompey, accustomed from boyhood to command, disliked seeking the favour of the crowd; his cold, grave character did not respond to the enthusiasms of the Forum.[2] He would have been the worthy figure-head of a peaceful empire; in a stormy republic he was out of place; it was therefore safe to predict that, yielding to his instincts, and in spite of his ambition, he would end by returning to the aristocratic party. In the two years which followed his consulship he rarely appeared in public,[3] and was always accompanied by a numerous suite who kept the crowd away as from the presence of a king. He understood, however, that this nominal royalty would weary the people, and that it would be wise for him to keep the public enthusiasm alive by new services. A war alone could give him the needed opportunity.

III.—War with the Pirates.

Since the shock caused the Republic by the Gracchi there had been only trouble within and revolt without. Liberty had, indeed, perished in the struggle, but power was preserved, and the provinces fell back into a more oppressed condition than before. But at every epoch of slavery there are men who prefer to be bandits than to be slaves. The wide sea was the asylum of those who refused to live under the Roman law: they became pirates, and since the senate had destroyed the navies of the world without replacing them by its own, the profits were certain, the risk was nothing. This brigandage, therefore, within a few years had attained a strange development. Mithridates received important assistance from the pirates during his wars, and when, upon the

[1] See the advice of Quintus to Cicero, *de Petitione consulatus*.

[2] Later we shall see him in opposition to Clodius. At Miletus, the orator Æschines having been too free of speech in his presence, he either caused him or permitted him to be sent into exile, where the unfortunate man died. (Strabo, IV. i. 7.)

[3] He refused a consular province, being unwilling to spend a year in obscurity.

order of Sylla, he disbanded his marine forces, his sailors at once added themselves to the pirate fleet. From all quarters men flocked to this standard, equally attractive to the brave and the rapacious. Ruined and desperate men from every party, those who had lost their fortunes by war or by the decree of justice, citizens banished from their homes, slaves who had escaped from prison, all were received here. Even men of distinguished origin shared in this chase of Ionian, Egyptian, and Greek merchants. The sea between Cyrene and Crete, and between Crete and Delos, or Smyrna, was called by them "the Golden Gulf," [1] so many were the captives their rapid vessels made in these waters. They made no attempt at concealment; gold and purple and precious stuffs adorned their vessels, some of which had their oars plated with silver, and every

Vessels laden with Plunder and Troops.[2]

capture was followed by long orgies to the sound of musical instruments. Their songs must have been like those of Byron's *Corsair*:—

"O'er the glad waters of the dark blue sea,
Our thoughts as boundless, and our souls as free,
Far as the breeze can bear, the billows foam,
Survey our empire and behold our home!

Ours the wild life in tumult still to range,
From toil to rest, and joy in every change!

No dread of death—if with us die our foes—
Save that it seems even duller than repose!"

[1] Florus, iii. 6.

[2] From a Pompeian painting. (Roux, *Hercul. et Pompéi*, vol. iii. 5th Series, pl. 14.) The

Cilicia, with its numberless harbours and its mountains descending to the coast had been their first lair; but upon all the shores they had their stores, their places of refuge, and their watch-towers. They were believed to be masters of a thousand vessels; they had at this time pillaged more than 400 cities, Cnidos, Samos, Colophon, and the most venerated temples, among others those of Samothrace and Epidaurus, that of Neptune on the isthmus of Corinth, of Juno at Samos, and at Argos, etc., and it is well known that temples at that time contained not merely offerings to the gods, but deposits made by their worshippers. From the temple of Samos they took away 1,000 talents. A poet of that day wrote after the pillage of Delos: "They have reduced Apollo to poverty, and of the great wealth that he had stored up there is left him not so much as one little piece of gold which he might give as a present." These pirates, however, Asiatic in origin for the most part, had a form of worship, but it was a barbarous ceremonial, the sanguinary mysteries of Mithra, which they were the first to disseminate in the West.

Coin of Cnidus.[1]

Coin of Colophon.[2]

There were too many Greeks among them for these robber-bands not to have framed a theory of their honourable calling. "There is no injustice," they said, "in recovering by skill that which has been lost by violence. The possession which powerful men have snatched from us all at once we recover by degrees." It was therefore with a calm conscience that they plied their profitable trade. And it does not appear, in fact, since rights in

first of these four boats bears at the stern either a laurel or a palm branch, emblem of a successful expedition. The prow represents the head and breast of a bird. Two of the others have a human face. By these emblems the vessels are designated and recognized.

[1] ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ. [Copied from the famous Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles]. Time of Caracalla.

[2] ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ(*ατηγοῦ*) ΚΛ(*αυδίου*) ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΙΩΝΩΝ ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΩΝ ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΙΩΝΩΝ. Apollo Clarius seated in a temple, before which are thirteen figures of representatives of Ionia raising the right hand (see p. 194, *seq.*); in the centre a bull before the altar. Bronze coin of the Emperor Trebonianus Gallus, struck at Colophon.

ancient times was merely the right of the strongest, why this organized state of pirates had not as good a claim to call themselves masters of the sea as the Romans to be masters of the land.

Robin Hood used to spare the Saxon churl and to slay the Norman sheriff; in like manner the pirates were pitiless towards the Roman, setting his ransom at a high price, and selling him into far-off countries when he could not pay it. At times, when a prisoner exclaimed with the haughty cry that kings respected, "I am a Roman citizen!" they would feign amazement and terror, and falling prostrate before him, beg for pardon; then they would bring to him sandals and a toga, that he might no longer be unknown, and then mocking his pretensions they made him walk the plank on his way to the Eternal City. This was the fate of the prætor Bellianus.

From Phœnicia to the Pillars of Hercules not a vessel passed that did not pay black-mail. Italy and Greece being all sea-coast, the Græco-Roman world lived along the shore, and there were their finest villas and most beautiful cities. How much anxiety and distress was caused by the sudden incursions of these bandits! Two prætors with their rods and lictors were carried off: Brundusium, Misenum, Cajeta, even Ostia, at the very gates of Rome, suffered pillage. Lipara paid them an annual tribute; one of their leaders had the audacity to enter the harbour of Syracuse with four of his vessels; another burned in Ostia a consular fleet.[1]

At this moment Sertorius was inciting revolt in Spain; Spartacus was about to call the gladiators to arms, and Mithridates was preparing a new war in Asia. It would have been possible for the pirates to serve as a bond between all these rebels; but this immense force, which might have given its chief vast power, as happened later in the case of Sextus Pompeius, lacked discipline and union; brigandage was more intelligible to their minds than state-craft; they did indeed conduct the envoys of Sertorius to

[1] [It is not generally known how terribly this evil was reproduced by the Saracens and Turks in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All the coasts of Italy and Greece again became depopulated, and the modern towns of Calabria are mostly still, like eagles' nests, on the top of cliffs far from the sea. It was not till the present century that the last stronghold of these hornets, Algiers, was destroyed by England and France. (Cf. Finlay's *Greece*, v. 90, *seq.*)—*Ed.*]

Mithridates,[1] but they were false to Spartacus and caused his ruin.

So long as they had pillaged only the Greeks or the Syrians they had been left undisturbed. The oligarchy which governed the Roman world cared but little for the misfortunes of the subject nations; it was even for the interest of the great, as the price of slaves fell, thanks to the stock supplied by the pirates. But when they waylaid the Roman convoys laden with grain, then it was that the famished people began to find their dignity wounded by this bandit insolence; and a vigorous effort was made against them (78).

The occupation of Cilicia, which the prætor Antonius commenced in the year 103, had not been prosecuted with the ardour usually shown by the Romans in extending their provinces. The senate had contented itself with establishing in this country a military post, whence a watch was kept upon the Syrian kings and upon the kings of Pontus and Armenia if they should venture into Asia Minor; but no attempt had been made to destroy the establishments of the pirates all along the coasts. Sylla, prætor in Cilicia in 92, did not concern himself with anything beyond the Taurus.[2] The ambitious designs of Mithridates were beginning to appear and caused the pirates to be forgotten, so that the latter, during the great struggle of the Pontic king with Rome, and especially during the Social and Civil wars, were left to increase undisturbed. The dictator, however, had not by any means lost sight of them; in 79 he caused a grandson of Metellus Macedonicus, Servilius Vatia, to be made consul, and the year after, the latter was sent as proconsul in Cilicia with a powerful fleet and an army. He was an upright man and a valiant captain. The pirates had

Triumphal Coin of Servilius.[3]

[1] The war of Sertorius lasted from 82 to 72; that of Spartacus from 73 to 71; that of Mithridates recommenced in 74, and the pirates had been attacked as early as the year 103 by the orator Marcus Antonius. This war was a legacy of the civil wars, the revolt of the provinces and of the slaves. (Cf. Appian, *Mithrid.*, 43.)

[2] See p. 581.

[3] M. SERVILIVS LEG. Head of Liberty. On the reverse, Q. CAEPIO BRUTVS IMP. Trophy. Coin of the Servilian family.

only racing vessels, "sea-mice,"[1] very swift, but incapable of resisting the shock of the galleys. Servilius destroyed a great number of them in a naval battle which they were imprudent enough to accept in sight of Patara; then, for more than three years,[2] he occupied himself in attacking and destroying one after another a multitude of their strongholds. These were laborious campaigns, in which the struggle was even more against nature than against man: in summer, torrid heats and deadly miasma; in winter, the icy winds from the snowy summits of Taurus; the rivers were torrents, the roads, gorges impracticable to regular troops. Built on the steep declivities of the mountains, these fortresses required an actual siege, in which the persistency of the defenders equalled the tenacity of the attacking force; at Olympus the pirate chief, rather than surrender, made an immense pile of his booty, set it on fire, and perished in the flames. When Servilius believed that he had destroyed the chief nests of the pirates he went across the Taurus in search of those land-pirates, the Isaurians, whom no government had ever been able completely to subjugate. Like the eagle who makes her eyrie at the highest point that she may see her prey afar off, they had perched their principal town, Isaura, on a straight cliff overlooking the plain of Iconium. Servilius subdued the place by cutting through the solid rock a new channel for the mountain torrent that brought water to the town. From this success he gained the surname of Isauricus; but he had no sooner re-entered Rome in triumph than the sea-mice reappeared in every direction.[5]

Coin of Patara.[3]

Coin of Isaura.[4]

[1] *Μυοπάρων*, boat-mouse. [A doubtful derivation.—*Ed.*]

[2] Three years according to Eutropius (vi. 3) and Orosius (5, 23); five (78–74) according to Cicero. (*II in Verr.*, iii. 91, 211.)

[3] ΠΑΤΑΡΕΩΝ. Apollo holding a laurel branch, between a raven, prophetic bird, and a tripod. Reverse of a bronze coin of Gordian III., struck at Patara.

[4] ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΙΣΑΡΩΝ. Bellona fighting. Reverse of a bronze coin of Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus.

[5] It is possible that the reduction of the Cyrenaica into a province about the year 75 (see p. 481) was a measure concerted with the great expedition of Servilius against the pirates of Cilicia, to strengthen the Roman watch over the eastern Mediterranean.

The senate at last decided to constitute a great maritime command, which was given to Antonius, the prætor, whose sister had lately been carried off by the pirates from her villa near Misenum. The island of Crete, in the centre of the Levant, had become since the capture of Cilicia the chief refuge of these free-booters, who shared with the inhabitants the profits of their expeditions. After having driven away these dangerous visitors from the Italian coasts, the prætor next turned his attention to Crete. An ill-directed attack resulted in disaster; the enemy captured several of his vessels; the officers were hung, and the sailors sold into slavery. Antonius made his escape, but survived his defeat only a few days, gaining from it the derisive appellation of *Creticus*. The Roman oligarchy accepted this affront without avenging it, save in words; they threatened from a distance, requiring the Cretans if they desired peace to give up 4,000 talents, the prisoners, the deserters, and their three admirals who had had the insolence to defeat Antonius.

Coin of Iconium.[1]

Coin of Cydonia.[2]

The Cretans were not men to part with so much money without a severe struggle; in 68 Metellus, at the head of a considerable army, came to demand it. This little nation dared to meet him in the open country, and afterwards delayed him before each one of their cities, Cydonia, Gnossus, and Gortyn. The proconsul spent two campaigns in reducing to a province this last asylum of Greek liberty, a not very honourable liberty, it must be owned, protecting in Crete many more vices than virtues.

Metellus thus added a new surname to all those which his haughty race had already attained. But his expedition did not put an end to piracy, and it is not certain that, at the very moment

[1] COL. AEL. ICONIE. S. R. (*senatus Romanus*). A priest leading two oxen; behind them, two standards. Bronze of Gordian III., struck at Iconium.

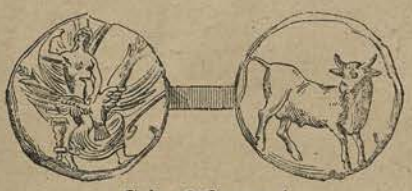
[2] The Cretan Diana (Britomartis or Dictynna). On the reverse, the same goddess as a huntress; she holds a lighted torch and extends one hand towards her dog. Tetradrachm of Cydonia.

when he was sending off his laurel-wreathed despatches to Rome, some of the numerous creeks of the great island did not still shelter a considerable number of filibusters. Isolated expeditions could not, in fact, destroy these Protean enemies; driven from one point they reappeared at another, and, owing to the skill of their pilots and the lightness of their vessels, they, like the Spanish *guerillero*, were able to laugh at their pursuers.

Coin of Gnossus.[1]

Coin of Gnossus.[2]

Meanwhile the grain-ships from Sicily and Sardinia no longer came in, and gratuitous distributions of corn were at an end. For a few sesterces the people sold their votes; for five bushels of corn a month, they conferred the Empire. In the year 67, the tribune Gabinius proposed that one of the consuls should be invested for three years with absolute and irresponsible power, with command of the sea and all the coasts of the Mediterranean for 400 stadia inland.[3] This space included a great portion of the lands subject to Rome, the most important nations, and the most powerful kings. The nobles took alarm at this unheard-of authority destined for Pompey, although Gabinius had not mentioned his name; they made an attempt to kill Gabinius,[5] and one of the tribune's colleagues opposed his veto. Such, however, was their humiliation that Catulus could find nothing better to say to the people than that they ought to economize so important a personage, and not expose incessantly so precious a life to the perils of war. "For if you lose him, whom have you to take



Coin of Gortyn.[4]

[1] The Minotaur on a tetradrachm of Gnossus.

[2] The Labyrinth. Reverse of a coin of Gnossus.

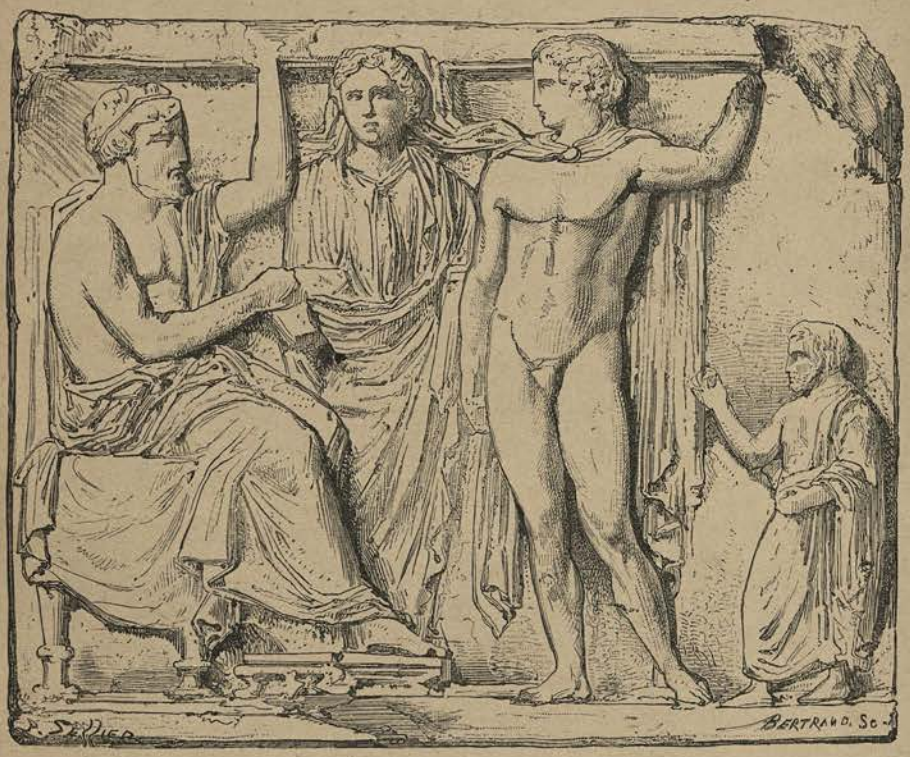
[3] Vell. Paterculus (ii. 31) says fifty miles, and Dion. three days' march.

[4] Europa holding an eagle, near the plane-tree where the divine bull had stopped. From that time, it was said, the sacred tree never lost its leaves. On the reverse, the bull leaping. Tetradrachm of Gortyn. For the Cretan legends, see Decharme's *la Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, ch. viii. p. 616, *seq.*

[5] Dion., xxxvi. 6, 20; Vell. Paterc., ii. 31.

Lithog. by W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

his place?" "Yourself," cried the populace, and Catulus was silent, after having counselled the senators to secure for themselves a retreat upon some Sacred Mount, where they could, like their ancestors, defend their liberty. The people voted the forces that the decree assigned to the general, 500 galleys, 120,000 foot-soldiers, 5,000 horse, and permission to draw from the treasury all the money he might require. One of the consuls, Piso,



Bas-relief at Gortyn.[1]

who still made some opposition, ventured to say to Pompey: "If you choose to emulate Romulus, you will end as he did;" but the people were ready to tear Piso in pieces, and the tribune Trebellius narrowly escaped being deposed, on account of his veto. Pompey, however, had too great a respect for forms to make any attack upon the consular and tribunitian dignity. A century earlier Rome would not have deigned to send a consul against

[1] Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage en Asie mineure*, pl. 124. Three colossal divinities and a worshipper.

enemies so contemptible, and now the army, the treasury, and sovereign power, were all entrusted to Pompey. The people were hungry, and they cared little for their liberty.[1] Cæsar, who liked precedents of monarchial authority, had actively supported the proposition.

Coin of Soli.[2]

At the news of this decree, the pirates abandoned the coasts of Italy; the price of food suddenly fell, and the people at once began to exclaim that the mere name of Pompey had brought the war to an end.[3] He chose for his lieutenants twenty-four senators who had already been generals of armies, divided the Mediterranean into thirteen parts, allotting a squadron to each, and in forty days had swept the Tuscan and Balearic Seas. Neither could the terrified pirates offer any resistance in the eastern Mediterranean. They came in crowds to surrender themselves, with their wives and children, and with their vessels; Pompey employed them in the pursuit of their former accomplices. Those who had more courage, however, carried their treasures away to the seaports of Mount Taurus, and collected their vessels off the promontory Coracesium. Being defeated and then besieged in an adjacent position where they had sought shelter, they gave up the islands and strongholds that yet remained to them; 120 forts on the crests of the mountains from Caria, as far as Mount Amanus were razed; Pompey burned 1,300 vessels and destroyed all the dock-yards; then, following the moderate policy he had pursued in Spain, instead of selling his prisoners, he established them in the depopulated cities, Soli, Adana,

Coin of Adana.[4]

Coin of Epiphania.[5]

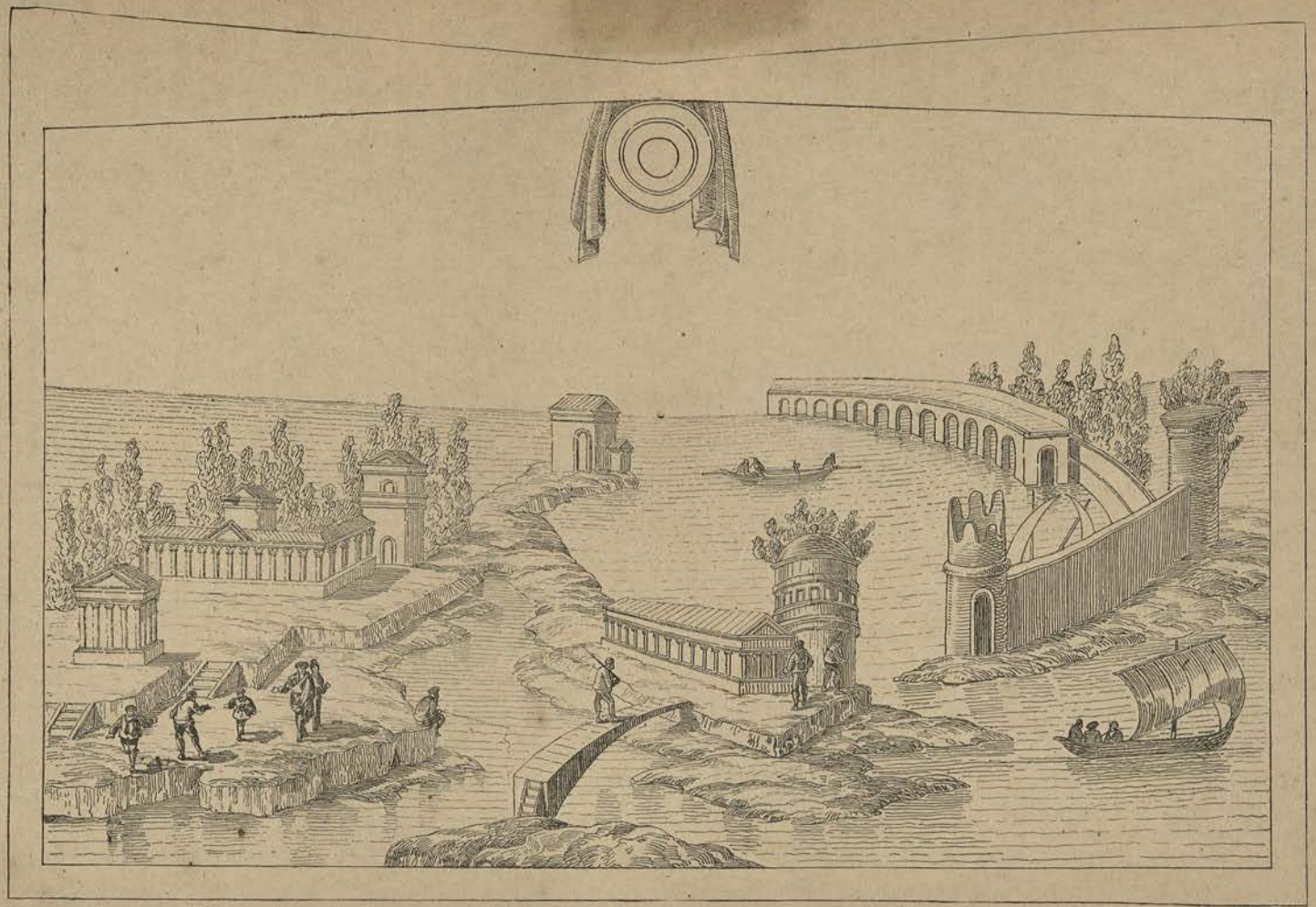
[1] Plut., *Pomp.*, 26.

[2] Kneeling archer. On the reverse, ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. Bunch of grapes in a square. Silver coin of Soli.

[3] Appian (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 18) calls him *τῆς ἀγορᾶς αὐτοκράτορα*.

[4] ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ ΛΥΣΑΝ ΕΥΜΑ. A Victory walking. Bronze coin of Adana.

[5] ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΩΝ ΕΤ(*ους*) SC. (year 206 of the era of Epiphania). Serapis seated; Cerberus before him. Reverse of a bronze coin, struck at Epiphania, in Cilicia.



A Port or Harbour.

Epiphania, and Mallus, also at Dyme in Achaia, and even in Calabria. Virgil, when a child, saw near Tarentum one of these pirates who had lived contentedly upon the land which Pompey had allotted to him.[1] Ninety days had sufficed to terminate this not very formidable war, brought to a happy issue by the moderation of the general, as much as by the rapidity of his movements. The Romans had recovered the Empire of the Mediterranean, and were able to call it *mare nostrum*. Piracy, however, had disappeared for a time only; never, even under the Emperors, was Rome able to suppress it completely. During the expedition of Gabinius into Egypt, the Syrian coasts were pillaged by numbers of freebooters; and even in our own time, those seas thickly sown with islands, promontories, and ports hidden at the base of mountains have been the last refuge of the Corsairs whom Christian nations have driven from the remotest corners of the ocean.

Metellus had been entrusted, before the passage of the *Gabinian law*, with the duty of taking Crete from the pirates. Although his command was an independent one, Pompey maintained that the other had lost the right of directing his campaign, and was but a lieutenant; and he sent an order to Metellus to suspend his operations. An officer sent by Pompey, Octavius, even came to the aid of the cities which Metellus was besieging. "He afflicted even his best friends," says Pompey's biographer, "by this unworthy jealousy, which made him regard any success obtained by others as so much stolen from his own glory." An injustice even more conspicuous had the effect of raising the nobles against him; he snatched from the hands of Lucullus the conquered Mithridates, that he might have the easy triumph of giving him the fatal blow.

[1] *Geor.*, iv. 125–148.

[2] The engraving (p. 801) is copied from a Pompeian picture. (Roux, *Hercul. et Pompéi*, vol. iii. 5th Series, pl. 28.) A wharf with open arches, letting the waves pass through while breaking their violence, and detaining the sands which they bring with them; the piles formed a shelter sufficient for vessels. We have here, perhaps, a specimen of a little harbour on the Neapolitan coast, which, constantly beaten by the south-west wind, had need of constructions of this kind.

CHAPTER L.

LAST WARS AGAINST MITHRIDATES.

I.—Victories of Lucullus over the Kings of Pontus and Armenia (74—66).

AFTER his interview with Sylla at Dardanus, Mithridates had returned to his own country, where on every side revolts were breaking out. The people of Colchis desired one of his sons for king; he granted the request, but soon after caused the young man to be seized, loaded with golden chains, and decapitated. In the Cimmerian Bosphorus the cities refused him obedience; he gathered, to chastise them, an army which was so numerous that Murena, who had been left in Asia with the title of pro-prætor, and the command of Fimbria's two legions, feigned to believe himself menaced (83). He also felt a desire for battle, a victory, a triumph, and his soldiers clamoured for booty. He invaded Cappadocia, from which Mithridates had not yet withdrawn, and took the city of Comana, pillaging its famous temple. The king complained of this attack as an infraction of the treaty made

Jewel from the Cimmerian Bosphorus.[1]

Coin of Comana.[2]

[1] Pendant (half size) found in the tomb of a priestess of Demeter. (*Antiq. du Bosph. Cimm.*, pl. xix.)

[2] The goddess of Comana (Bellona) leaning on her shield and holding a club. Perhaps this piece belongs to the Pontic Comana. (Millingen, *Anc. Coins of Gr. Cities*, p. 67.)

with Sylla, and the pro-prætor replied that the treaty not having been written—which was true—he was not informed as to its provisions. He continued his advance and entered Pontus; but he was defeated, driven back across the Halys in disorder, and the Pontic army had already reached the frontier of the Roman province, when an envoy of the dictator arrived, to arrest hostilities and restore all things to their previous condition (81).

Sylla had had enough of war and military fame; he wished to end with peace, and for this purpose avoided whatever might cause a disturbance in the East. The same year (81), a Ptolemy, Alexander II., had bequeathed to the Romans two kingdoms, Egypt and Cyprus.[1] The dictator contented himself with claiming the money deposited at Tyre by the dead prince, and allowed the two illegitimate sons of Ptolemy VIII. (Lathyros) to divide the inheritance.

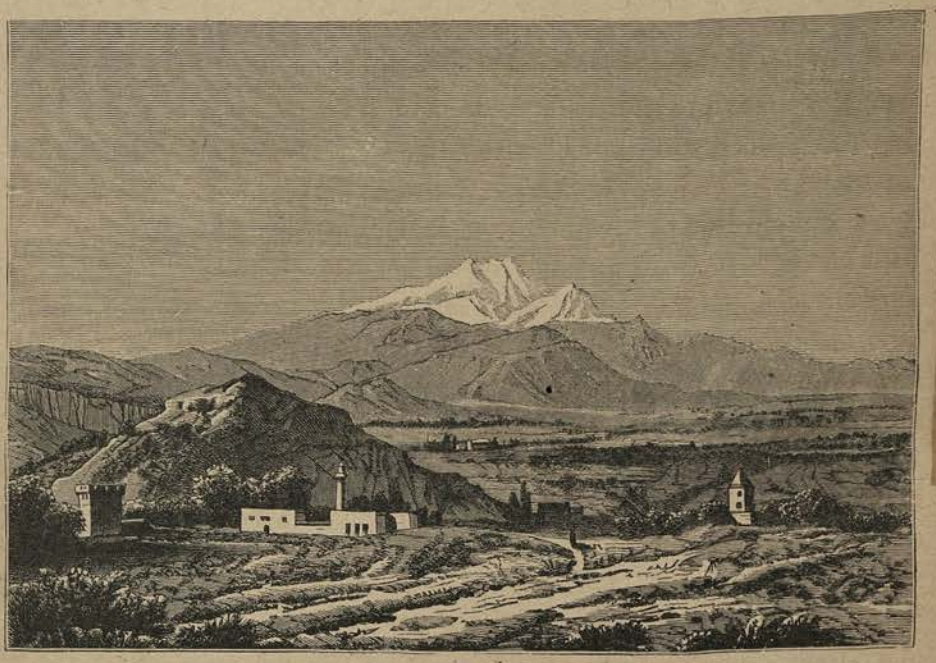
Mithridates also had need of peace to re-establish his authority. For several years he appeared to be exclusively occupied with subjugating anew the Cimmerian Bosphorus, whose government he entrusted to his son Machares, and with the conquest of the barbarous tribes between Colchis and the Palus Mæotis. But as soon as he received intelligence of Sylla's death, he at once incited Tigranes, the king of Armenia, to invade Cappadocia. This prince seized upon the Cappadocian capital, Mazaca, at the foot of Mount Argæus, and carried away 300,000 people from that kingdom to found his own new capital, Tigranocerta. The cession of Bithynia

Mount Argæus.[2]

[1] Cic., *de Leg. agr.*, ii. 16. He adds, however: *Dicitur contra, nullum esse testamentum.* At Rome, the right of bequest being absolute, the art of obtaining a will in one's favour became a very fashionable pursuit. The senate did what the private individual did, and wills cleverly obtained, made Rome the heir of three kingdoms, Pergamean Asia, Bithynia, and the Cyrenaica. Alexander II., King of Egypt, was persuaded likewise, but Sylla was unwilling to lay claim to an inheritance which he must needs have conquered. The matter was allowed to rest, but it was not forgotten, for in 63 the tribune Rullus included in his agrarian law the lands of the royal domain in Egypt.

[2] ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΥ ΕΤ Ρ (year 100 of the city's era). Mt. Argæus above a temple; on the summit a statue, between a star and the crescent of the moon. Reverse of a bronze coin of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia. Mount Argæus, a volcanic mass, high enough to have perpetual snow (according to Strabo), and whence it was said the Euxine and the sea of Cyprus could be seen, furnished two things rare in Cappadocia, wood and water. (See p. 806.)

to the Roman senate made by Nicomedes III. when dying (74), decided Mithridates to enter the field himself. Moreover the occasion seemed favourable. The best generals of Rome and nearly all her armies were occupied against Sertorius in Spain, or against the Dardanians (Servia) and the Thracians who were ravaging Macedon, and all the eastern peninsula,[1] with their predatory incursions; the sea was covered with pirates, and the Bithynians, whom the publicans had in a few months brought to



Mount Argæus.[2]

a condition of revolt, were calling the king of Pontus to their aid. He at once began immense preparations. All the barbarous tribes from the Caucasus to Mount Hæmus furnished him with auxiliaries, the Romans proscribed by Sylla drilled his troops, and we have related how Sertorius sent him officers.

Lucullus and M. Cotta were at this time consuls; the former

[1] Conquest of a part of Dalmatia and capture of Salone after two years' siege by the proconsul G. Cesconius (78–77); laborious campaigns of Appius Claudius, governor of Macedon (78–76), and of G. Scribonius (75–73) against the Thracians and Dardanians; successful expeditions of M. Lucullus, brother of the conqueror of Mithridates, against the people of Thrace, the Balkans, and the right bank of the Danube, and subjugation of the Greek cities on the shore of the Euxine (72–71).

[2] Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. ii. pl. 85.

aspired to the command of this war. Far from having spent in pleasures and study, as has been asserted, a youth without public service, for more than ten years Lucullus had been constantly in harness. In 90 he served in the Social war; in 88 he preceded Sylla into Greece as proquæstor, and coined in the Peloponnesus, with great integrity, all the money which the army wanted during the Pontic war.[1] This general had not the vessels which he needed to dispute the sea with the enemy's forces, and in the midst of countless dangers, Lucullus visited Crete and Cyrene,[2] Egypt, Cyprus, Rhodes, Cos, Cnidos, etc., passing through the pirate and royal fleets, which infested the eastern Mediterranean, in quest of vessels for a Roman fleet. He was successful; and also made an important diversion by encouraging the Greek cities of Asia in their revolt against Mithridates. At Chios and Colophon he aided the inhabitants to drive out their garrisons, and although later he allowed Mithridates, who was surrounded in Pitane, to make his escape, that he might not give Fimbria the honour of ending the war, he twice defeated the king's fleets and opened to Sylla the road to Asia.[4] He used the greatest moderation in apportioning the war-tax of 20,000 talents. Many cities, however, still resisted, and in two engagements he dispersed the people of Mitylene and Elæa, finally returning to Rome just late enough to escape any complicity in the proscriptions. The dictator received him with the greatest distinction. Their tastes had much in common; both delighted to unite intellectual gratifications with the refinements of luxury, and Sylla left to Lucullus both the

Coin of Rhodes.[3]

Coin of Cos.[5]

[1] Plut., *Lucull.*, 2. When Sylla had exacted from Asia a tax of 20,000 talents he again employed Lucullus in its coinage (*ibid.*, 4). On the Lucullan coinage and in general upon Roman coins struck in the provinces by the generals in virtue of their *imperium*, see Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité*, vol. ii. p. 253.

[2] From the work of Robert Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, vol. i. p. 1.

[3] Coin of Rhodes with head of Bacchus, surrounded by rays like that of the sun, given p. 787.

[4] Plut., *Lucull.*, 3 and 4; Appian, *Mithrid.*, 52–3.

[5] ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ. Hippocrates seated. Bronze coin of Cos.

guardianship of his son and the duty of revising, before giving them to the world, the commentaries which he had written in Greek. Prætor in 77, and consul in 74, Lucullus, through respect for the memory of Sylla, as much as through zeal for the aristocratic party, resisted the efforts of the tribune Quinctius, whom he ended, perhaps, by buying over.[1]

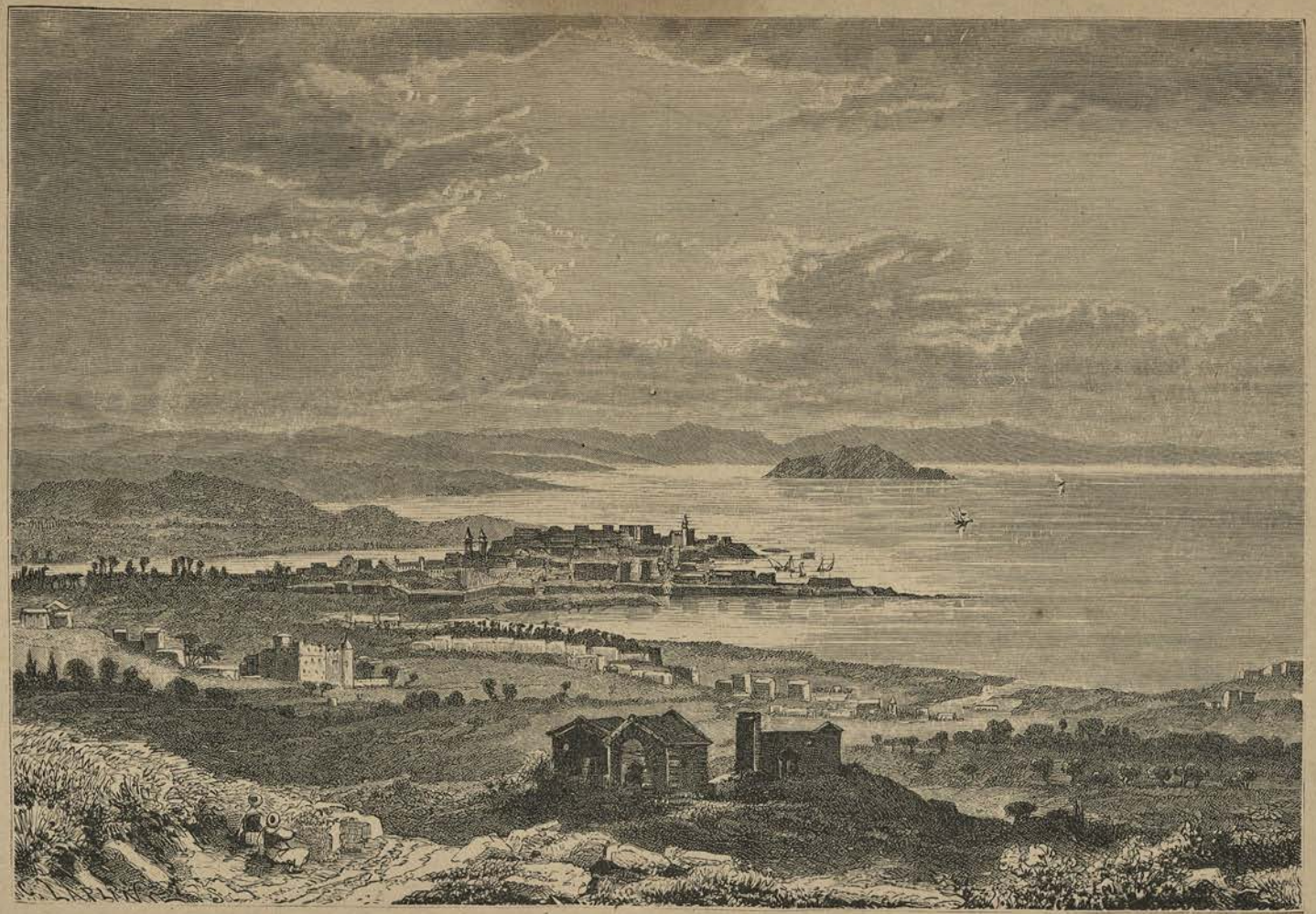
Captive Bithynia[3]

The Cisalpina had fallen by lot to him as consular province, while his colleague had received Bithynia. But the proconsul of Cilicia dying at this time Lucullus asked and obtained his province. This army, a little less than 32,000 men, was composed of raw recruits, and of Fimbria's veterans, who were twice rebels,[2] and habituated to extreme licence. Like Scipio and Paulus Æmilius, he began with drilling his troops in order to restore discipline, and was marching upon Pontus, when he learned that Mithridates, having persuaded the republic of Heracleia to unite with him, had invaded Bithynia with 100,000 foot, 6,000 horse, and 100 scythe-armed chariots, while a fleet of 400 sail, keeping along the coast

[1] Sall., *Hist. fragm.*; Ascon. in Cic., *in Cæcilium*, 3; Plut., *Lucull.*, 5.

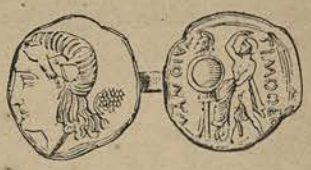
[2] They had mutinied against the proconsul Val. Flaccus and had abandoned Fimbria.

[3] Statue in the Blundell collection. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 768A, No. 1906A.)

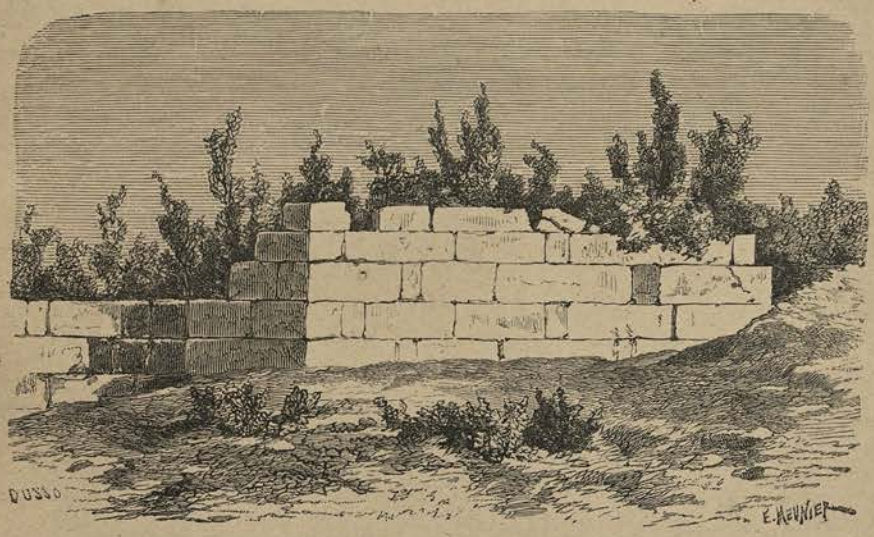


Crete.

would co-operate with the land forces. Lucullus was further informed that all the publicans had been massacred by the inhabitants; and that Cotta, eager to fight, in order to secure to himself the honour of victory, had just suffered two defeats in the same day, one by land, the other by sea, and was now closely blockaded in Chalcedon. The officers of Lucullus urged him to throw himself upon Cappadocia and Pontus, now left defenceless. "I had rather," said the general, "save one citizen from the enemy, than make easy conquest of spoils; besides, it



Coin of Heracleia in Bithynia.[1]



Cyzicus: Remains of Walls. (Perrot, *Expl. de la Galatie.*)

would be leaving the object of the chase and going to the empty lair." And he marched to the relief of the besieged. But at sight of the immense number of the king's troops, he deemed it prudent not to engage in a general action, and posted himself where he could cut off the supplies.

In ancient times, even more than at present, it was an extremely difficult problem to supply large masses of men with provisions.[2] The Romans knew how to solve it with considerable skill: to the

[1] Head of Bacchus with a bunch of grapes behind it. On the reverse, ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣ(*ιου*); Hercules erecting a trophy. Silver coin of Timotheos and Dionysios, kings of Heracleia in Bithynia.

[2] [And yet ancient historians are always telling us of vast hosts in actions!—*Ed*].

barbarians it was not at all a subject of forethought. Lucullus planned his campaign with this idea in view: to keep his own little army in provisions, and to prevent the king's forces from obtaining supplies.

In the mountainous peninsula, on which Chalcedon is situated, Mithridates soon found himself destitute of food. To obtain it he extended his lines to the westward, into Mysia, and made an attempt to surprise Cyzicus. Lucullus followed him, and encamping in a favourable position in the rear of the royal army, blocked the roads, and waited for famine to give him the advantage over this multitude. The city was strong, it was devoted to the Romans, and a few troops thrown in by Lucullus, together with the sight of his camp, visible from the walls, sustained the courage of the inhabitants. The season was also in their favour; it was winter, and a violent tempest destroyed in a day all the king's works. After eating everything that their camp could furnish, even to the dead bodies of their prisoners, the besieging force was decimated by pestilence and famine. A large detachment sent out by Mithridates to obtain food was surprised at the passage of the Rhyndacus, and lost 15,000 men.[2] One of his lieutenants, Eumachos, who was to cut off the Roman communications, was also defeated in Phrygia by the Galatian prince, Dejotarus. Between the immovable camp, and the impregnable city, Mithridates saw his vast army melt away, while he could not bring it into action, and he decided to escape to his fleet, leaving the land forces to get out of the enemy's hands as best they could. The army retreated towards the Æsepus and the Granicus, and these rivers, swollen by the rains, arrested their flight. The Romans came up with them and killed the larger number, while the rest escaped to Lampsacus. A few of the royal vessels were yet cruising

Coin of Dejotarus.[1]

Coin of Sinope.[3]

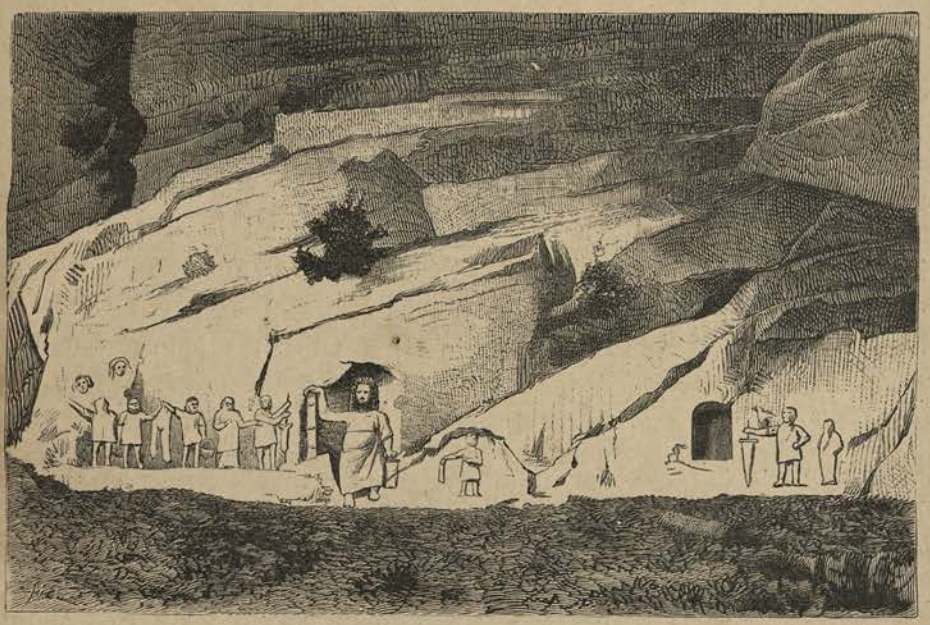
[1] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΕΙΟΤΑΡΟΥ (of the King Dejotarus). An eagle between two caps of the Dioscuri. Bronze coin of Dejotarus, King of Galatia.

[2] In speaking of this engagement Sallust said in his great *History*, now lost, that there for the first time camels were seen by the Romans. Plutarch answers him (*Lucullus*, 11) that they had seen them a century before this at the battle of Magnesia.

[3] ΣΙΝΩ(πέων) ΘΕΟΤ. Eagle upon a fish. Silver coin of Sinope.

in the Propontis and on the coast of the Troad, and Lucullus, arming galleys, pursued and sunk them. In one of these encounters, he captured Varius, the agent of Sertorius, and put him to an ignominious death (73). The captives were so numerous that in one of the Roman camps, a slave could be brought for four drachmæ.

Meanwhile Mithridates was fleeing in the direction of the Euxine. An officer to whom the proconsul had entrusted the duty of closing the Thracian Bosphorus forgot himself in the celebration of festivities and in securing his initiation into the Samothracian



Galatia (Hassan-Ochlan).[1]

mysteries. When the king arrived at the entrance of the strait the passage was unguarded; tempests however wrecked all his vessels, and it was on board a pirate ship that he finally arrived at Pontic Heracleia. Thence he made his way to Sinope and Amisus, and sent to his son Machares, and Tigranes, his son-in-law, entreating them to furnish him assistance promptly. Diocles, whom he sent with great sums of money to the Scythians, went over to the Romans instead.

Lucullus, leaving Cotta to subjugate those Bithynian cities

[1] Bas-relief sculptured on a rock (a king upon his throne). (Perrot, *Explor. archéol. de la Galatie*, etc., pl. xii.)

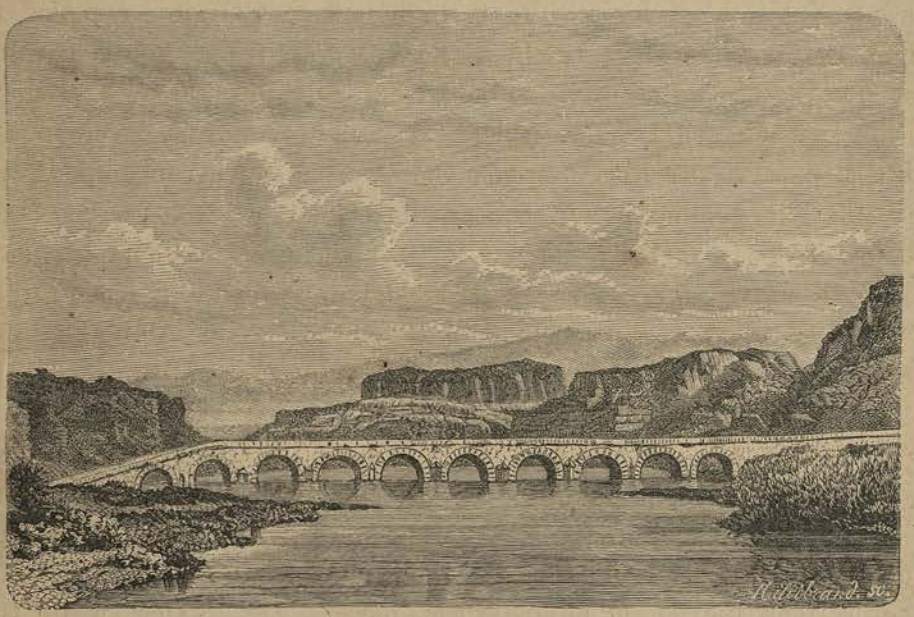
which still held out, crossed the Halys, the principal river of Asia Minor, and penetrated into Pontus; 30,000 Galatians followed him, bearing provisions for his army. With the design of drawing the king into a battle before the arrival of the expected reinforcements, the proconsul ravaged the country and remained for a long time, notwithstanding the murmurs of his troops, besieging Amisus (73—72). In the spring, on hearing that Mithridates had collected 44,000 men at Cabira, near the head waters of the Halys, in the mountains which separate Pontus from Armenia, Lucullus went in search of him with three legions. A traitor revealed to him the paths leading to the royal camp, but the Pontic cavalry at first repulsed the Roman attack, and Lucullus narrowly escaped being assassinated by a Scythian chief who had come over to the Romans as a deserter. When, however, he had examined the position he resumed the tactics which had so well served him before Cyzicus, and by a great number of small combats hemmed in and starved his enemy. Mithridates was already meditating a retreat when a panic suddenly seized his troops, and the king only made his escape by scattering his treasures along the way, thus arresting the pursuit.

Before crossing the frontier of Armenia, whither he was going to seek shelter with Tigranes, the despot remembered that he had left his sisters and his wives behind him, and he sent one of his eunuchs to them to bear them the order of death. One of his sisters took the poison offered them, cursing her brother, while the other commended him that in his own danger he had been mindful that they should go out of the world without disgrace. The most beloved of his wives, that beautiful Monima, who, fifteen years before, had exchanged the freedom and elegance of Greek life for the servitude of the harem, sought to strangle herself with the string of the diadem she wore upon her head, but it was not strong enough, and broke, upon which she trampled it under foot, exclaiming, "O wretched diadem that will not help me even in this small matter!" and fell upon the eunuch's sword.

After the victory of Cabira, Lucullus advanced almost to Colchis, but some places still held out behind them, among others Amisus, defended by the engineer Callimachus, and Heracleia, which detained the proconsul Cotta for two years. Those Greek

cities, surrounded as they were by barbarians, were fortified with a skill over which the military science of the time could not triumph, and the sea remaining open to them, they had no fear of famine. When, however, they saw no hope of succour they surrendered. After regulating the affairs of Pontus and negotiating with Machares, who was not ashamed to send a golden wreath to the conqueror of his father, Lucullus returned to pass the winter at Ephesus.

The province had need of his presence, devoured, as it was,



Bridge of Thock-Geuza, on the Halys.[1]

by publicans and usurers. It had not yet been able to complete the payment of the war-tax imposed by Sylla, or, rather, it had, indeed, paid it six times over by the accumulation of interest and the exactions of the revenue-farmers. The desolation was widespread, and when Lucullus had fixed the legal rate of interest at 1 per cent. a month, and forbidden the exaction of compound interest, when also he had limited the right of the creditor over the income of the debtor to one-fourth, the blessings of the people prevented him from hearing the complaints of the publicans. We

[1] The date of construction of this bridge, on the main road from Cappadocia to Pontus, is at present unknown. The illustration is from Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie mineure*, vol. ii. pl. 84.

shall see that he soon paid dearly for this wise and generous conduct.

Some months before this he had sent his brother-in-law, Appius Clodius,[1] to claim from Tigranes the extradition of Mithridates. Tigranes, master of Armenia, conqueror of the Parthians, whom he had driven back into the depths of Asia, and of Syria, whence the Seleucidæ had disgracefully disappeared, was at this time the most powerful monarch of the East. He held all the military and commercial roads of Anterior Asia; by Media, Atropatene and the upper valleys of Euphrates and Tigris commanding the southern roads, and by Syria, eastern Cilicia, and a part of Cappadocia, those of the west. Whichever side he raised his war-cry he was able to hurl down from the Armenian plateau countless hosts which nothing seemed able to resist. A crowd of famous chiefs lived at his court as slaves; when he went out four kings ran before his chariot. He had compelled the Parthians to allow him to take the title of king of kings, or suzerain of all the Asiatic princes. Mithridates had not recognized this supremacy in the time of his own prosperity, and hence he had obtained from Tigranes little assistance in the last wars against Rome, and had been coldly received when he came to seek shelter in Armenia. The embassy of Clodius changed completely the intentions of Tigranes. The Roman had been obliged to go into Syria, where the king was at the time, and he had been detained at Antioch under pretext that Tigranes was completing the subjugation of Phœnicia. After the custom of eastern courts, the delay had been intentional, with the view of giving the ambassador a profound sense of the power of the Armenian monarch, and, at the same time, of manifesting the indifference of the king of kings towards Rome. Clodius had, however, profited by the delay in forming intrigues with the chiefs and cities of this region; the king of Gordyene promised to take

Tigranes, King of Armenia.[2]

[1] This man was a member of the *gens Claudia,* but the name is habitually written *Clodius.* Other members of this family also wrote the name in the same way. (Orelli, 579.)

[2] Head of Tigranes, King of Armenia, wearing the tiara. From a tetradrachm. This coin, probably struck in Syria, bears on the reverse a Greek inscription.

the field as soon as Lucullus should appear, a promise which afterwards caused the murder of the whole of that royal race. When the interview finally took place, Clodius declared briefly that he had come either to obtain Mithridates or to declare war. Tigranes had never before heard language so direct and haughty; he replied that he accepted war, and summoning Mithridates, who had not hitherto been admitted to his presence, he promised him 10,000 men as an escort to his kingdom, whilst he himself should put all his forces upon a war-footing. He thus repeated the error which had ruined Philip and Antiochus. While Mithridates was fighting with the Romans in Asia, Tigranes was far away in Phœnicia; now that Mithridates was a fugitive, Tigranes was ready to enter the lists (70).

Lucullus was not at all alarmed at this struggle which he had brought on. He left 6,000 men to defend Pontus, and took with him only 3,000 horse and 12,000 foot, old soldiers of the Fimbrian legions, who reluctantly followed a general always the protector of the native populations against rapacity (69). He made his way towards the provinces of the Euphrates recently conquered by Tigranes, where the people, many of whom were Greeks, with horror found themselves subjected to a prince who required servile obedience. The understanding which Clodius had established with many of the inhabitants of this region was useful to Lucullus, who passed the Euphrates and Tigris unmolested, causing his troops everywhere to observe the strictest discipline. Tigranes could not believe in such audacity; the first messenger who told him the approach of the legions atoned for his information with his life. The advance guard of the legions was able to disperse the first force sent against them. The king, at last uneasy, fled in all haste from his capital, and withdrew into the mountains lying between the head-waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, where he gathered around his standards soldiers from the Caucasus to the Persian Gulf.

When he had thus collected about him [according to the historians] more than 250,000 men, and received intelligence that Lucullus was besieging the Armenian capital with an army which seemed to the king a mere escort, he scorned the advice of Mithridates to starve out his adversary, and hastened to give him

battle. So soon as the army of Tigranes appeared, crowning the heights whence Tigranocerta is visible, Lucullus, leaving under command of Murena 6,000 men to prevent a sortie from the town, advanced, with 11,000 men and some cavalry, to meet the king. "If they come as envoys," said Tigranes, "they are

Lucullus.[1]

numerous; if as enemies, they are very few." The Roman general, who manifested in this war as much boldness as he had shown prudence and slowness in his campaigns against the king of Pontus, began the attack. Tigranes was the first to flee; his tiara and diadem fell into the hands of the enemy. Lucullus asserted that he had only five men killed and 100 wounded, and [of course]

[1] Bust, said to be of Lucullus, in the Museum of the Hermitage. In the *Archäolog. Zeitung*, New Series, vol. viii. Nos. 1 and 2, E. Schultze has maintained the authenticity of this bust.

estimated the barbarian losses at 100,000 (6 Oct., 69). A revolt of the Greek inhabitants of Tigranocerta facilitated an assault upon the town, and the legionaries found in it, not to speak of other booty, 8,000 talents of coined gold, and received from their general 800 drachmæ apiece. Never was an easy victory more richly rewarded.[1]

Lucullus wintered in Gordyene, receiving the alliance of all the neighbouring princes, and soliciting that of Phraates, king of the Parthians. This prince was seeking to obtain Mesopotamia from Tigranes, and he had many humiliations of his house to avenge upon the Armenians; but, on the other hand, Tigranes showed him that all the thrones of the East were alike menaced by the victories of the legions. A Roman deputy found him undecided between the two parties. Lucullus would not permit this neutrality, and ordered his lieutenants in Pontus to bring him their forces. He had such a contempt for these kings that he felt no hesitation about going forward into the heart of Asia and attacking a third empire. But his officers and soldiers, who had become too rich to be willing to incur further dangers, refused to follow him, and he was obliged to content himself with only completing the defeat of the king of Armenia. The army of the Armenian king, reconstructed by Mithridates, and composed only of the best troops, had lately reappeared in the neighbourhood of Lucullus, refusing to fight and seeking to intercept his supplies. In order to bring on an action, Lucullus marched upon Artaxata, the real capital of Armenia,[3] where were the wives and children and the treasures of the king. Upon this Tigranes followed him, and to save his second capital, gave battle. The result was the same as in the preceding year (68).

Phraates III.[2]

Artaxata, built, it is said, by Hannibal, stood on the shores of the Araxes, to the north-east of Mount Ararat, a lofty mountain whose peak, 15,000 feet high, is covered with perpetual snow.

[1] The ruins of Tigranocerta have been sought at Sert, upon the Chabûr, at Mejafarkin, and at Amid or Amadiah. (Cf. S. Martin, *Mem. sur l'Arménie*, i. p. 173; Ritter, *die Erdkunde*, vol. x. p. 87.)

[2] From a silver coin of this prince, who was also called Arsaces XII., and surnamed Theos.

[3] Ruins called Lake Tiridates, the Throne of Tiridates, near the meeting of the Aras and the Zengue, are regarded as marking the site of Artaxata.

When the winds which sweep these icy summits reach the valleys below they bring with them a sudden winter, and at this time deep snow arrested the Roman army in their pursuit. The soldiers refused to remain in this rigorous climate, and Lucullus, abandoning the siege of Artaxata, retreated towards the south into Mygdonia, and took by assault Nisibis (67). This was the limit of his successes.

He had not understood the art, which Scipio and Sylla practised, of softening by affable manners the rigour of his authority, and his soldiers could not forgive him for keeping them eight years constantly in camp, and having at their expense spared the cities with which he had made terms, instead of taking them by violence, which would have authorized their subsequent pillage. His brother-in-law, Clodius, a young noble, full of criminal audacity, encouraged the soldiers by seditious language; "they were only the muleteers of Lucullus," he said, "serving to escort his treasures, and while he, for his own advantage, pillaged the palaces of Tigranes, they were forced to spare those whom the rights of victory gave into their hands." At Rome, Lucullus had other enemies, the publicans, those harpies devouring the substance of the nations, who by his regulation had been arrested in their career of rapine. Since he had command in Asia the province had rallied; in four years all the debts and mortgages had been paid off. But he forgot both Rutilius and that permanent conspiracy of which Cicero speaks, formed by the knights against those who repressed their avidity. Once more enjoying supreme power through Pompey's measures, they made haste to be revenged upon the man who was compelling them to justice and moderation. While the army of Lucullus held its general in forced inaction, the publicans, supported by the ex-tribune Quinctius, at that time prætor, took from him his command, and caused a decree to be passed disbanding a portion of his army (67).[1]

[1] [Thus ended one of the most brilliant campaigns ever conducted by a Roman general, and one which places Lucullus in the highest rank for ability and resource. This sort of energetic and cultivated sybarite, who bears a certain family likeness to Sylla and to Cæsar, is only produced by a luxurious and long dominant aristocracy.—*Ed.*]

II.—Pompey succeeds Lucullus in Command of the Army of Asia (66).

Mithridates and Tigranes, profiting by these misunderstandings, returned into their kingdoms; the king of Pontus even defeated a lieutenant, killing 7,000 men, 150 centurions, and twenty-four tribunes (67). Another would have shared the same fate had not Mithridates been wounded in the combat by a deserter. The arrival of Lucullus, who had at last succeeded in winning over his soldiers by making them ashamed of abandoning their comrades, drove back the king into Lesser Armenia; but they would not follow him there. In vain their general entreated them; there were other masters than he in his camp; they told him to go and find the enemy himself if he wanted to fight, and consented to remain under his command until the end of summer only on condition of remaining in camp.

Meanwhile the two kings had again assumed the offensive; Cappadocia was invaded, the Romans driven from Pontus, a proconsul, Glabrio, put to flight and pursued as far as Bithynia. When the commissioners arrived charged by the senate with the organization into provinces of the new conquests, everything seemed again undone. In reality, by the carelessness of the government, which during eight years had neglected those who were fighting its battles in distant parts of the empire, the grandest campaigns that a Roman general had yet conducted, the most astounding victories the legions had as yet won, were rendered useless, and in the spring of 66 the situation was as difficult as it had been in 74. But they had ascertained the worth of these Asiatic hordes and knew of a certainty that they could terminate the war at any moment they set themselves in earnest to do so.[1]

Pompey, who had just brought his campaign against the pirates to an end, was at the head of a considerable force in

[1] [Yet this was perhaps what misled Crassus and caused his defeat and death in the Parthian war twenty years later.—*Ed.*]

Cilicia. For a long time his friends at Rome had intended him to have command of this war. The tribune Manilius formally proposed sending him against Tigranes and Mithridates with unlimited power over the army, the fleet, and the provinces of Asia. The senate rejected this bill, which perpetuated the regal authority of a deserter from the party of nobles; but the stubbornness of the people and the knights foreboded a fresh defeat if they persisted; they chose rather to renounce the right that Sylla had granted them of preliminary examination of legislative measures. Catulus alone protested at length against the *rogation*, and when he saw that the people merely listened without being impressed, he exclaimed: "Since it is so, it only remains for you to seek some Tarpeian rock or Sacred Mountain whither you can fly and retain your liberty." Till lately the dictatorship had come from the nobility, now it came from the people—an obvious indication that both sides were prepared for servitude. The rogation was supported by Cæsar and by Cicero, who delivered on this occasion his first public address, and passed without opposition. Manilius had taken care before the voting to distribute the freedmen amongst the thirty-five tribes. Sylla's former lieutenant went even so far as to seek support which the Gracchi would have scorned.

On receiving the news Pompey hypocritically railed against fortune which had overwhelmed him with labour and denied him the peaceful existence of an obscure citizen. His actions soon belied his words; he hastened to appear in his new command, multiplying edicts, calling to him all the troops and allies, and taking care to humiliate Lucullus by rescinding all his acts. The two generals met in Galatia; the interview commenced with the customary compliments, but ended with mutual insults. "Like the dull and cowardly bird of prey which tracks the hunter by the smell of the offal, Pompey," said Lucullus, "comes down upon the carcase slain by others, and reaps the reward of their sufferings." Mutual friends separated them (66). When Lucullus set out for Italy his rival permitted him to take with him only 1,600 men to celebrate his triumph,

Lucullus Triumphant.

and for three years he succeeded in hindering him from obtaining even this honour.

Irritated at the injustice of the people and the weakness of the senate, which had abandoned him, Lucullus withdrew from a government whose inevitable downfall he could foresee, and went to enjoy in his villas the immense wealth he had brought from the spoils of Asia. His luxury and magnificence earned for him the

Temple of Mercury on the Bay of Naples.[1]

surname of the "Roman Xerxes."[2] His gardens, says Plutarch, are still considered to be amongst the most beautiful in the imperial domain. He had constructed near Naples enormous subterranean canals through which the sea flowed so as to form a reservoir for fish. At Tusculum they admired his palaces, fitted up as summer and winter residences, with their large saloons, broad terraces, and delightful views. Each apartment had its peculiar

[1] *Voyage pittoresque de Naples et Sicile*, vol. i. part ii. p. 212 (Paris, 1782).

[2] Vell. Paterc., ii. 23. See in Plutarch (*Lucull.*, 39–41) the oft-repeated anecdotes respecting his suppers, his buildings, his fish ponds, of which Varro also speaks.

furniture and special attendance. Cicero and a friend, wishing one day to take him by surprise, asked for an invitation to dinner, on condition that he would make no special preparation. He merely said to his servant: "We will sup in the hall of Apollo," and his two guests were served with a most sumptuous feast, since in this hall the cost was never to be less than 50,000 drachmæ. The enlightened support which he gave to literature claims indulgence for this indolence and luxury, which, in the midst of so much corruption was no longer a disgrace.[1]

Lucullus had only a small army and a few ships; Pompey had 60,000 men and an enormous fleet, with which he encircled the whole of Asia Minor from Cyprus to the Thracian Bosphorus. Mithridates, still at the head of 32,000 men, but weary of this incessant struggle, asked the new general on what terms peace would be granted to him. "Trust yourself to the generosity of the Roman people," the proconsul replied. Mithridates had too much courage to end like Perseus after fighting like Hannibal. "Very well!" said he, "we will fight to the last!" and swore never to make peace with Rome. Pompey had already marched as far as Lesser Armenia. In his first encounter, a night engagement on the banks of the Lycus, the Pontic army was destroyed, and Mithridates escaped with only two horsemen and one of his wives, who, attired as a man, followed him everywhere and fought by his side. Arriving at one of his strongholds he distributed to those who had rejoined him all his money and some poison, that each might hold in his own hand his liberty and life. Having taken these precautions he wished to fly to Tigranes, but this prince had put a price upon his head, so he went back towards the source of the Euphrates and reached Colchis, where he wintered. Upon the field of battle Pompey founded Nicopolis, the city of victory.

In the despotic courts of the East the prince is neither a husband nor a father. Tigranes, rendered suspicious and cruel through his reverses, had caused the death of two of his sons; the third revolted, perhaps at the instigation of Mithridates, and sought shelter among the Parthians. Phraates had at last

[1] He collected a valuable library, which he opened to the public, and he was constantly surrounded by men of letters. (Plut., *Lucull.*, 59.) He died some time before the breaking out of the next Civil war.

come to the conclusion that it was time to look for a share of the spoil of his neighbour, and had just completed a treaty of alliance with Pompey. The young Tigranes afforded him the opportunity of making a useful diversion; Phraates gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and took him back with an army into his father's kingdom. The old king withdrew at first to the mountains, leaving the two princes to waste their time and strength before the walls of Artaxata. Phraates was the first to tire; he returned to his country, fearing lest too prolonged an absence should excite disturbances. The young Tigranes was conquered by his father and compelled to take shelter in the Roman camp. Pompey set out for Artaxata, and had not proceeded more than fifteen miles when the envoys of Tigranes met him, and shortly the king himself. At the entrance to the camp a lictor made Tigranes dismount, who, as soon as he saw Pompey, took off his diadem and wished to prostrate himself before him. Pompey prevented him, made Tigranes sit beside him and offered him peace on condition that he renounced his claims on Syria and Asia Minor, that he would pay 6,000 talents and recognize his son as king in Sophene; thus here, too, the old policy of the senate was applied. Tigranes thus enfeebled, but not subdued, was not powerful enough to be formidable, but sufficiently so to hold in check the king of Parthia, whose conduct had for a long time been equivocal. This new vassal was then to do police duty for Rome in Upper Asia as in former times Eumenes had done in Asia Minor, *reges . . . : vetus servitutis instrumentum.*

Tigranes had expected greater severity; in his joy he promised the Roman troops a bounty of fifty drachmæ per man, 1,000 for a centurion, and a talent for a tribune. But his son, who had hoped to succeed to his crown, could not conceal his disappointment; his secret intrigues with the Parthian and Armenian nobles having been discovered, Pompey, in defiance of the law of nations, and although he was his guest, loaded him with chains and reserved him for his triumph.

Some troops had been left in Armenia to watch over the movements of the Parthians, who had just reminded Pompey that the boundary of the two empires was to be the Euphrates. With the remainder of the army divided into three corps, Pompey

wintered on the banks of the Cyrus. He intended going in the spring in search of Mithridates as far as the Caucasus, that he might boast of having borne the Roman eagles from the heart of Spain and Africa to the uttermost end of the habitable world, even to the rocks upon which Jupiter had bound Prometheus.[1]

Albania is bounded on the south by the Cyrus. In the middle of December 40,000 men crossed the river in the hope of surprising the camps; everywhere they were repulsed, and Pompey himself passing over the Cyrus on the return of the open weather (65), after traversing Albania, penetrated among the Iberians, a people who neither the Persians nor Alexander had subdued. Pompey

Scythian Amazon.[2]

had left behind him the historic grounds of the Roman republic to enter the land of fable.

Then he reached the Phasis, at whose mouth was one of his lieutenants in charge of the Pontic fleet, when a revolt of the Albanians brought him back. He subdued them and meant to reach the Caspian Sea; a lack of guides, the difficulties of the country, and the news of an attempt of the Parthians upon Gordyene brought him back into Armenia, when he established himself in Amisus, where, during the winter, he held his court with all the barbaric splendour of an Oriental potentate. Surrounded

[1] App., *Mithrid.*, 103. Pompey, accompanied by the Greek, Theophanes, sought in good faith for the rock where Æschylus lays the scene of his tragedy.

[2] From a sarcophagus in the Museum of the Capitol.

by Asiatic chiefs and ambassadors from all the kings, he distributed commands and provinces, granted or denied the alliance of Rome, treated with the Medes and the Elymæans, who were rivals of Parthia, and refused to Phraates the title of "king of kings." Mithridates was driven back into wild regions where he was forgotten, and the fortunate proconsul, not very desirous of risking his fame against the barbarians of the northern shores of the Euxine, was already dreaming of other and easier victories. He had almost reached the Caucasus and the Hyrcanian Sea; it was now his wish to go to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, taking possession on his way of Syria, which Tigranes had abandoned.

Antiochus XIII. Asiaticus.[1]

In the spring of 64, after organizing Pontus into a province as if Mithridates had been already dead, and leaving a fleet to

Coin of Alexander Jannæus.[2]

Coin of Ptolemais.[3]

Coin of Ascalon.[4]

cruise in the Euxine, he crossed the Taurus. Syria was in the most deplorable condition. Antiochus XIII. Asiaticus,[5] whom Lucullus had recognized as king, had not been able to establish his authority; a crowd of petty tyrants divided his cities among themselves, and the Ituræans and Arabs pillaged the country. Pompey, who was determined, notwithstanding the sibyl, to make the Euphrates the frontier of the Republic, reduced Syria and Phœnicia to a province, and only left Commagene to Antiochus, Chalcidice to a Ptolemy, and Osrhoene to an Arab chief, with the

[1] From a coin.

[2] Jehonathan Hammelek (in Samaritan), within the spokes of an eight-rayed wheel. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ around an anchor. Coin of bronze of Alexander Jannæus.

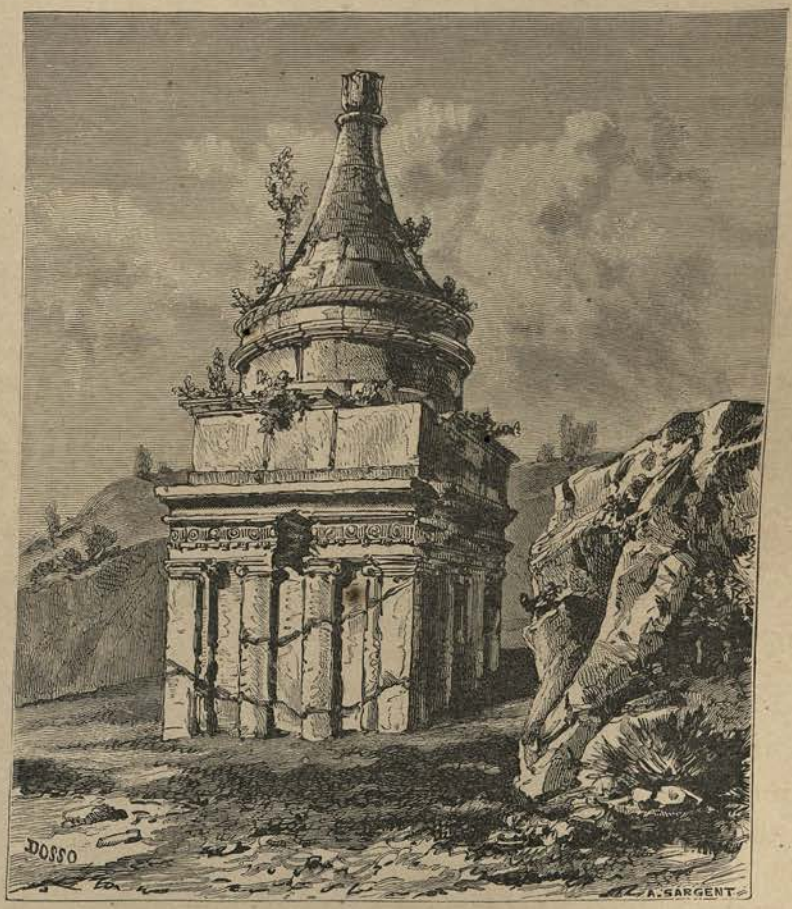
[3] COL(onia) PTOL(emais), turret-crowned woman (the city of Ptolemais) seated on rocks, holding ears of corn; at her feet a flowing river. Bronze coin of Ptolemais, struck under Hadrian.

[4] Turreted female head. On the reverse, A C, and a vessel. Bronze coin of Ascalon.

[5] This Antiochus was the seventeenth of the Seleucid kings, who had for two centuries and a half reigned over Syria.

design that these provinces, being dependent on Rome, should guard for her the banks of the great river at the only place where the Parthians could cross. In the interior of Syria the Ituræans (Druses), who possessed many castles in Mount Lebanon, were reduced by a severe chastisement.

In Palestine the Maccabees had gloriously reconquered the independence of the Hebrew people, and since the year 107 one of



Petra (Tomb), called that of Absalom.[1]

their race, Aristobulus, had held the title of king of the Jews. With this designation the new dynasty had also assumed the manners and cruelty of the princes of the time; Aristobulus had killed his mother, and at the instigation of queen Salome had

[1] Photograph taken by the Duc de Luynes in his journey in the East, in the valley of Jehoshaphat, near Jerusalem.

caused his brother Antigonus to be assassinated. Under his successor, Alexander Jannæus, the new kingdom extended from Mount Carmel to the Egyptian frontier, and from the Lake of Gennesaret to the land of the Nabathæans (Petra); Ptolemais (Acre) and Ascalon alone on the Mediterranean shore remained free. But after

Ruins of the Palace of John Hyrcanus.[1]

his time (69) six years of civil war cost the lives of 50,000 Jews, and the disputes of the Pharisees and Sadducees shook the State to its foundations. The former, occupied especially with the law and with religious observances, the latter with the aggrandizement of the nation, formed two hostile factions.[2] The Pharisees were influential with the regent Alexandra, widow of Jannæus, and committed horrible excesses, as parties at once political and

[1] Comte Melchior de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem, monographie du Haram-ech-cherif*, pl. xxxiv. (Araq-el-Emir).

[2] The Pharisees have had until now a very bad name, but M. Cohen (*Pharisiens*, 2 vols., 1877) has undertaken their defence. The Pharisees of the New Testament were merely the enthusiasts or the hypocrites of the party.

religious are apt to do when they have the power. A second civil war between the two sons of Alexander, the weak Hyrcanus II. and the energetic Aristobulus, brought about fresh complications. Hyrcanus was expelled from the throne, but the Pharisees called in foreign aid; they promised the king of the Nabathæan Arabs to restore to him the conquests of Jannæus, and Aretas came with 50,000 men to besiege Aristobulus in Jerusalem.

One of Pompey's quæstors, Æmilius Scaurus, was at this time at Damascus; both rivals offered 400 talents for his assistance.

Denarius representing Aristobulus.[1]

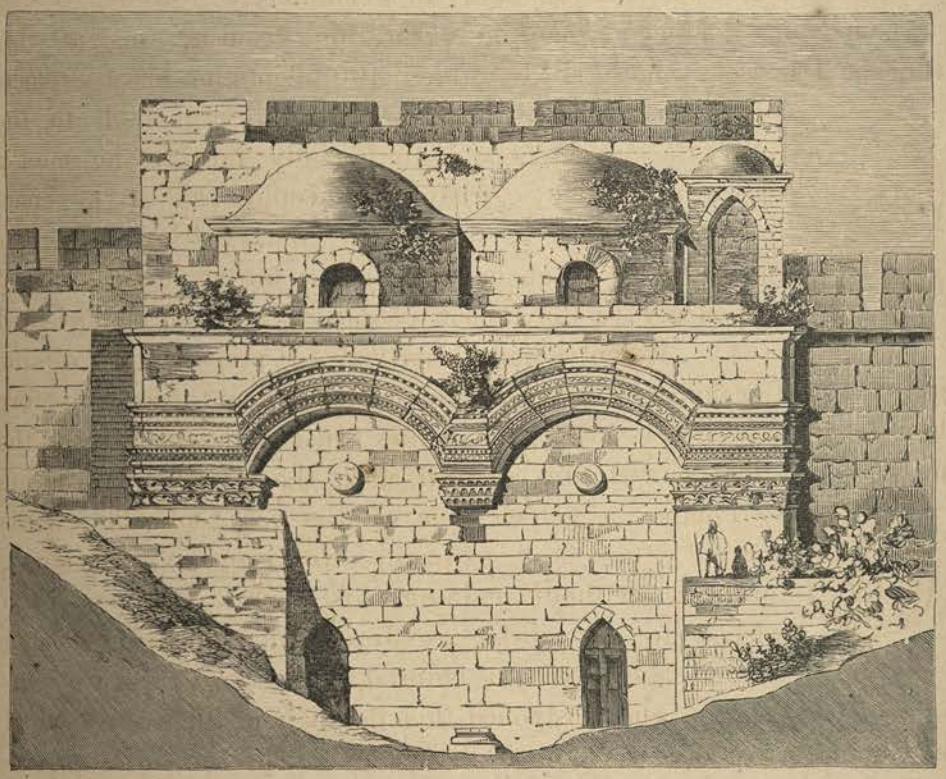
Hyrcanus had already promised a large sum to the Nabathæan chief, and could only furnish the money after a victory; Aristobulus could pay it at once, and Scaurus took sides with him, writing to Aretas that unless he at once withdrew he would be declared an enemy to the Roman people. The Arab king yielded (64). When Pompey arrived he proposed to examine into the matter himself, and cited the two brothers to appear before him at Damascus (64—3). Aristobulus tried with the general the method that had served him so well with the lieutenant; sending to Pompey a golden vine of the value of 500 talents and of the most exquisite workmanship; this time, however, without gaining his cause. Pompey, who wished to go as far as Jerusalem, which no Roman general had ever yet entered, sent away the two competitors, and postponed his decision in their case until he should have chastised the Nabathæans. This impartiality was not what had been expected by Aristobulus. He retired to his castles, and a few days after consented to give them up; he levied troops, then disbanded them; and finally threw himself into Jerusalem, whence Pompey enticed him under pretext of a conference. The partisans of Hyrcanus opened the gates of the city to the proconsul, who besieged the party of Aristobulus in the

Nabathæan Coin.[2]

[1] BACCHIVS IVDAEVS. The Aristobulus of the Greeks was named Bakkhi; the Romans, believing that the name was derived from Bacchus, called him Bacchius. The Jewish prince, indicated by the presence of the camel, the animal used for riding in his country, kneeling, offers an olive branch to his conqueror. (Note by M. de Saulcy.) Reverse of a silver coin of the Plautian family.

[2] Veiled head of the wife of Aretas, with the legend, *Koulda, queen of Nabath, year.* The date is uncertain. (M. de Saulcy.) Silver coin of the Nabathæan kings.

temple for three months. A final assault, in which Cornelius Sylla, the son of the dictator, was the first to scale the wall, at last gave the Romans the place. No quarter was given, and 12,000 Jews lay dead around their sanctuary; during the massacre the priests continued to officiate at the altar without neglecting a single detail of the ritual[1] until their blood was mingled with that



Golden Gate of the Temple at Jerusalem (Western Façade).[2]

of the sacrifices. Pompey entered into the Holy of Holies, where the high priest alone entered once a year, but he respected the sacred vessels and even the treasures of the temple, valued at 2,000 talents. Hyrcanus, re-established in the high priesthood, on condition of renouncing the title of king and the diadem, was further required to pay an annual tribute and to restore to Syria the conquests made by the Maccabees, together with the maritime

[1] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 4, 3.

[2] Comte Melchior de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, pl. viii.

cities, Joppa, Gaza, and others; this was, so to speak, a military road into Egypt, which Pompey thus opened to the legions.[1] Judæa, it is true, was not united to the Roman province, but it was left to fall into that condition of demi-servitude through which Rome caused nations to pass who had not yet completely lost their patriotism. The Pharisees, therefore, had gained their cause; Jewish royalty was now a mere shadow, and of the glorious achievements of the Maccabees nothing was left. The Nabathæans had been pursued by Pompey's lieutenant, M. Scaurus, but he could not reach Petra, protected by frightful deserts. Aretas tried to retain Damascus, whose inhabitants had appealed to him to protect their trading interests, but Damascus was within Roman reach; Aretas, therefore, bought a peace, so that Pompey was enabled to reckon him in the list of conquered kings.

Coin of Scaurus.[2]

Coin of Aretas.[3]

During these operations fortune was at work for Pompey in the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Mithridates, who had been believed dead or else a hopeless fugitive, had reappeared with an army at Phanagoria on the Bosphorus to inquire of his son Machares about a wreath which he had sent to Lucullus, soliciting to be received among the number of the allies of Rome. Machares knew the implacable temper of his father, and sought to escape, but was surrounded and slain. Mithridates thus found himself again in possession of a kingdom; neither age nor reverses had crushed his lofty

Reverse of a Coin of Aretas.[4]

[1] Josephus says, in fact (*Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 8), that Pompey left to Scaurus the government of Lower Syria as far as the Euphrates and the Egyptian frontier.

[2] M. SCAVR. AED CVR EX SC REX ARETAS. A camel and Aretas kneeling, presenting an olive branch. (See p. 830, n. 1.) On the reverse, P. HYPSAE AED. CVR. C. HYPSAE COS. PREIVE (Preivernum) CAPTV. Figure in a quadriga; behind, a scorpion. Silver coin of the Æmilian family.

[3] Laurelled head, with the Nabathæan legend, *Haratat the king, loving his people.* A silver obolus; this piece in copper was current as a half drachme. (Note by M. de Saulcy.)

[4] Two cornucopiæ and Nabathæan legend. Reverse of a bronze coin of Aretas (Haratat) and his wife, Sequaïlat.

ambition. The Roman fleet barred him from the sea; Asia was subject to them. One route, however, remained open to him; all the way to Thrace the nations knew his name and his standards; he proposed to march through this region; at his voice they would rise in arms up the valley of the Danube as far as Gaul, whose warlike inhabitants would swell his ranks; thence from the Alps he might precipitate upon Rome a torrent of barbarians. But his plans became known; his soldiers and officers recoiled from such fatigues and dangers. One of them, Castor, set the example of revolt by seizing upon Phanagoria. Even his son, Pharnaces, conspired against him. This the old king

Cistophorus Coin of Tralles.[1]

Cimmerian Bosphorus: Laurel Wreath of Gold.[2]

pardoned; but soon the defection became general. Mithridates proposed to march against the rebels, but his very escort abandoned him. He returned into his palace, and from its walls he saw his son proclaimed king. He then took poison; but in vain, for the potion had no effect upon him; he essayed to kill himself with his sword, but his hand failed him. A Gaul finally rendered him this last service (63). He was at the time of his death

[1] This coin of T. Ampius Balbus was struck at Tralles after the victory of Pompey over Mithridates. (Cf. O. Rayet and Alb. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 78, fig. 14.)

[2] This wreath, of magnificent workmanship, is represented in the *Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.*, pl. v. No. 3.

sixty-eight years of age, and for a half century had occupied that historic stage whence he departed in such tragic fashion. We may say with Racine:[1] "His defeats alone made nearly all the military fame of three of the greatest generals of the Republic, Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey."

Massive Gold Ring.[2]

Pompey was before the walls of Jericho when news came to him that the greatest of Rome's enemies, after the Carthaginian hero, had, like Hannibal and Philopœmen, perished by treason. As soon as Jerusalem was taken he returned into Pontus to Amisus, where Pharnaces, with a last and shameful act of treason, sent to him, with magnificent presents, the body of Mithridates clothed in rich attire after the fashion of the Bosphorus. The body was much disfigured, but could be recognized by the many scars which covered the face. The Roman caused him to be honourably interred at Sinope, in the tomb of his ancestors.

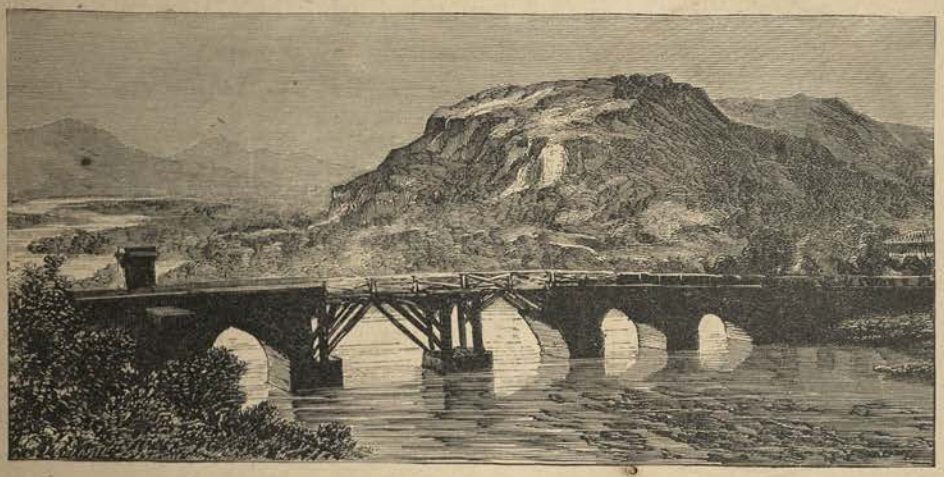
III.—Re-organization of Anterior Asia (65).

In Asia Minor the population dwells along the coasts. Upon the shore of the Euxine the cities are less crowded than on the Ægean Sea, but much of the land is no less fertile. Pompey relinquished the arid and mountainous interior of Paphlagonia to a prince, Attalus, who claimed to be of the ancient race of the Pylæmenidæ, the early kings of the country, and he included in Bithynia the fertile region sloping down to the Euxine, between the Halys and Sangarius, together with some portions of Pontus lying eastward of the former river. The great Greek city Amisus,

[1] Racine, preface to *Mithridates*.

[2] Ring with an intaglio in Syrian garnet. (*Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.*, pl. xv. No. 9.)

in the centre of this region, seems to have been garrisoned as the advanced post of the Roman sway. Although Pompey had not ventured to carry further eastward the domain of the Republic, he made it a point to preserve the memory of his victories over



The Sangarius, between Sabandja and Gheïveh.[2]

Mithridates by giving the new province the double name of Pontus and Bithynia.

He also organized the province of Cilicia, which was divided into six districts, namely, Cilicia of the plain,[1] and that of the mountains, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Isauria, and Lycaonia, to which were added the Phrygian territories of Laodicea, Apamea, Synnada, and later (58) the island of Cyprus. Tarsus was its capital, *caput Ciliciæ*. From Cicero's letters we know the cities where the governor held his assizes: Tarsus, for Cilicia of the plain; Iconium, for Lycaonia; Philomelium, for Isauria; Perga, for Pamphylia; Laodicea, whose jurisdiction

Coin of Apamea.[3]

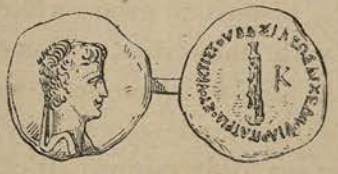
[1] *Cilicia Campestris* and *C. Aspera*.

[2] Copied from the *Voyage de Constan. à Ephèse* by Comte A. de Moustier. (*Tour du monde*, vol. ix. No. 223.)

[3] The Meander and the Marsyas, rivers on the banks of which Apameia is built, recumbent beneath the Diana of Ephesus. The head of the goddess is surmounted by her temple and two hinds are at her side. The legend should be read thus: Πουβλίου Αὐρηλίου ΒΑΚΧΙΟΥ ΠΑΝΗγυριάστου ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΙΑΝΔρος ΜΑΡσύας, or, Publius Aurelius Bacchius, president of the feast of the Apameians; the Meander and the Marsyas. Coin of Apameia.

included twenty-five cities, Apamea fifteen, Synnada twenty-one.

The vast territory between Mount Amanus and the Arabian desert formed the new province of Syria; but it comprised too many peoples, dynasties, and cities who, at the fall of the Seleucidæ and upon the defeat of Tigranes, believed themselves independent, for Rome to do more in this region than to assume rights of suzerainty without interfering with local liberties. She left great privileges to these populations, whose affection towards her was indispensable on this remote frontier.



Coin of Archelaus.[1]

After the share of the sovereign people came that of the client-kings, in recompense for his parricide Pharnaces kept the Bosphorus, sharing with Castor of Phanagoria the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. The tetrarch of the Tolistoboii in Galatia, Dejotarus, had shown himself faithful and valiant, and Pompey gave him the luxuriant pasture-lands between the Halys and the Iris and in the neighbourhood of the rich cities of Pharnacia and Trapezus (Trebizond); he added to this the poor and mountainous region of Lesser Armenia, where Dejotarus would mount guard in the interest of Rome over the frontier of Greater Armenia. Brogitarus, his son-in-law, received the fortress of Mithridatium with a territory extending along the joint boundary of Pontus and Galatia.[2] The son of the general at Chæronea, Archelaus, was named high priest at Comana; we have already mentioned the share assigned to Attalus in Paphlagonia; Ariobarzanes had recovered Cappadocia, and Pompey gave him in addition Sophene, making

Coin of Comana.[3]

[1] Head of Archelaus. On the reverse, a club. Silver coin.

[2] Strabo, xii. 367.

[3] COL. IV. AVG. G. I. F. COMANORV. Woman standing in a temple. Reverse of a bronze coin of Caracalla, who had raised Comana in Cappadocia to the rank of a colony. This city contained the renowned temple of Anaïtis, whom Strabo calls Enyo, and the Greeks confused with Bellona. She was a goddess honoured, like all the feminine divinities of Asia, with an orgiastic worship, wherein were shown "contrasts of purity and impurity, of warlike energy and unbridled lust." (See *Gazette archéol.*, 1876, p. 10.)

him master of the fords of the Euphrates. Gordyene, further eastward, remained in the possession of Tigranes. The Seleucid Antiochus held Commagene, a small province where the Romans had need of a docile vassal, because it joined Cappadocia to Syria and commanded the passage of the Euphrates. On the left bank of the great river the emir of Osrhoene, Abgar, had also accepted the position of client of Rome. All the avenues into Asia Minor by the Upper Euphrates were therefore well guarded.

These dynasties remained objects of suspicion even while they were rewarded, but it was not so with the cities. Rome loved municipal life, and to favour the Asiatic cities seemed to her general an act of good policy in this land of slavery. Pompey founded or re-peopled as many as thirty-nine cities, whose sites were so well chosen that some of them yet exist. He declared free the great city of Antioch on the Orontes, and near it Seleucia, which had repulsed all the attacks of Tigranes; on the coast of Palestine, Gaza; on the Euxine, Phanagoria; on the Ægean Sea, Mitylene. Cyzicus, which had so bravely resisted Mithridates, received an extensive territory and Pontic Heracleia, Sinope, and Amisus, notwithstanding their long resistance to the Romans, were raised from their ruins.

Assisted by the commissioners of the senate, Pompey prepared the rules of government (*formula*) for the new provinces, Pontus and Bithynia, Syria and Cilicia, and did it with so much ability that two centuries later these regulations were still in force. Never did conquerors obliterate by more benefits the memory of their victories; and we cannot sufficiently admire that genius for government which so well foresaw the needs of the subjects and the necessities of the empire. From the Euxine to the Red Sea all Anterior Asia had been reconstructed without submitting it to that uniformity of administration which provokes resistance by violating ancient customs and manners. Subject cities of every degree, vassal princes, free republics, all political forms were here, and balanced one another. The kingdom of Pontus, which had so long threatened Rome, had ceased to exist, and Armenia, fallen from the high rank she had for a moment held, was no longer anything save a barrier against the great Oriental empire of Parthia, which Rome was yet unable to reach.

Coming into Asia after Sylla and Lucullus, Pompey had no brilliant victories to win, but he organized the sway of Rome here; he fixed limits which the empire could never pass, and we willingly admit his boast, as he displayed his triumphal robe, that he had brought to an end the long travail of Roman greatness.

[1] Engraved stone (cornelian) of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1871, which has been called the triumph of Pompey, but, according to Chabouillet, is only an athlete's victory.

Conquering Athlete.[1]

END OF VOL. II.

ALPHABETICAL INDEXES.

I.—COINS AND GEMS.

	Page
Abdera	99
Abydus	23
Acerræ	559
Aces, king of Thrace	77
Achæan coin	12
Achæan league	168
Acilius Glabrio	49
Acrocorinthus	138
Adana	800
Ægina	17
— (drachme of)	—
Æmilius (Paulus) and Perseus	113
Æneia	77
Æsernia	555
Ætolian drachme	4
— league	129
Alabanda	100
Alexander Jannæus	827
Alexandria Troas	61
Aluntium	620
Amisus	642
Annius and Tarquitius his quæstor	749
Annona, the	783
Antibes	486
Antigonus	16
Antiochus II. Theos	211
— III. (tetrastater of)	29
— IV.	87
— —	125
— V. Eupator	159
— XIII. (the Asiatic)	827
Apamea	835
Apellicon	660
Aquilius (Manius)	513
Archelaus	836
Aretas	832
— (reverse of a coin of)	832
Argæus (mount)	805
Argive didrachme	15
Ariarathes IV.	58
— V.	158
— VI.	647
Ariobarzanes	527
Aristion	661
Aristobulus, denarius representing	830
Arsaces IX.	581
Arverni	487
Ascalon	827
Asculum	555
Athens	14
—	660
Athlete (conquering)	838
Baleares	154
Beaked galley (cameo)	53
Bocchus	552
— delivering Jugurtha to Sylla	565
Bœotia	88
Bonus Eventus	729
Bovianum	574
Bustuarius	731
Byzantine	18
Calagurris (Calahorra)	739
Campanian (silver)	2
Carbo	443
Carteia	158
Carthaginian coin from Sicily	148
Carystus	552
— didrachme of	33
Cassius Longinus	368
Cato	343
Centuripæ	616
Chalcis	29
Chance	213
Chios	53
—	309
Cinna	601

	Page
Cirta	458
Cisalpina	168
Clazomenæ	60
Cnidus	793
Colchis	642
Colophon	60
—	793
Comana	804
—	836
Congiarium	314
Corcyra	188
Corinthian didrachme	15
Cornelia (cameo)	399
Cos	807
Cotys	84
Cydonia	797
Cyme	60
Cyrenaica	639
Cyrene	451
Cyzicus	633
Dejotarus	812
Delphi	687
— (priest at)	211
Demetrius Poliorcetes	211
— I. Soter	158
— I. —	159
Dioscuri on horseback	258
Dyrrachium	133
Eagles supporting a wreath	771
Elephant and his driver	468
Elis	135
Emporiæ (drachme of)	150
Ephesus	53
Epidaurus	114
Epiphania	800
Epirus	130
—	168
Eretria	33
Erythræ	61
Eubœa	46
Eumenes IV.	47
Fæsulæ	565
Fides	412
Flaccus (Valerius)	713
Flamininus Titus Quinctius	31
Fonteia (the *gens*)	625
Fulvius	439
Gnossus	798
—	798
Gomphi	32
Gortyn	798
Halæsa	615
Halicarnassus	19
—	611
Heracleia in Bithynia	811
Heracleia in Macedon	30
Heracleia Pontica	552
Hercules Musagetes	62
Hero on horseback	40
Himera	705
Horseman with Macedonian hat	64
Iasus	23
Iconium	797
Iguvium, *as* of	549
Ilercavonia	760
Ilerda (Lerida)	753
Illyria	168
Insignia of the quæstor	181
— — —	182
Ionia	198
— (Magnesian)	198
Isaura	796
Italica	155
—	760
Juno, diademed, with the *Ægis* of Minerva (cameo)	435
Jupiter Capitolinus	530
Lamia	46
Lampsacus	612
Larinum	700
Lepidus	7
—	72
Leptis	451
Lesbos	123
Lucania	556
Lucullus triumphant	822
Lycurgus	16
Lysimachia	42
Macedon	116
— (second)	168
Mallos	207
Manlius L.	753
Maroneia	30
—	76
Massiliot	484
Megalopolis	80
Metapontum	778
Metellus	135
Methymna	159
Miletus	553
Mithridates VI. (Eupator)	554
Mithridates the Great	641
Motulus	555
Mitylene	655

	Page
Nabathæan	830
Neptune	167
Nicomedes II. of Bithynia	647
— III.	554
Nuceria	556
Numidian	452
—	453
— horse	452
— king or prince	139
Oath of the eight nations	550
Opimius	435
Opus	22
Orchomenus	668
Oresti	36
Osca	756
Panticapæum (golden coin of)	388
Parisades	643
Patara	796
Peace	201
Pella	111
Perga	612
Pergamus	168
—	196
— (cistophorus) didrachme of	4
Perseus	85
Petelia	780
Phalana	99
Phanagoria	388
Pharnaces I	82
Pheræ, drachme of	35
Philip V. of Macedon	83
Philippopolis	78
Philippus	532
Phocæa	335
Phraates III.	819
Phrygia	162
Pompeius Rufus	602
Pompey	734
Populonia	689
Porcius Lecca	287
Præneste (pediment of the temple at)	175
Prusias I.	19
— II.	86
Ptolemais	827
Ptolemy Apion	482
— IV. Philopater (222–205)	4
— V. Epiphanes (205–181)	7
— VI. Philometor	125
— VI. —	160
Rhegium	779
Rhodes	126
—	787
—	807
Ring (massive gold)	834
Rome personified (cameo)	74
Sabellian bull goring the Roman wolf	550
Saguntum	760
Saturninus Lucius Apuleius	520
Scarabæi (Phœnician)	345
Scaurus	832
Seleucus IV.	86
Senate personified	340
Serapis and Isis	245
Sertorius (the hind of)	755
Servilius (triumphal coin of)	795
Sicyon	114
Sinope	812
Smyrna	18
Socrates	212
Soli	800
Sylla	478
—	714
— (dream of)	587
Tarragona	150
Tectosagi	487
Tenedos	611
Terence	265
Termessus	57
—	58
Thasos	39
— (didrachme of)	23
Thessaly	168
Tigranes, king of Armenia	816
Tingis (Punic money of)	750
Tralles (cistophorus of)	833
Trebizond	642
Trocmi	58
Tuder	688
Valencia	758
Venusia	543
— (*as* of)	544
Vessel (merchant)	371
Vesta and her temple	585
Volaterræ (a *sextans* of)	689
Voting scene	369
Warriors joining their swords	27

II.—MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS.

	Page
Ænaria (*Ischia*), island of	595
Æsculapius (altar of)	114
Agricultural implements	299
Agrigentum (sole approach to the fortress Cocalus on the summit of Agrigentum)	394
Alexander the Great (bust of)	637
Amazon (Scythian)	826
Amphoræ	422
Anio (sources of the)	361
Anubis	268
Apiarium (bee-hive)	305
Apochori (plain of, at the foot of Mount Tomarus)	9
Apollo	254
— (altar of)	89
— (figurine of)	686
Aquæ Sextiæ (battlefield of)	499
Aqueduct on the principle of the Siphon at Patara	653
Argæus (mount)	806
Argentarius (tomb of an)	430
Argentarius (mons)	746
Arpinum	447
Ascoli (Asculum)	569
— (sling-bullets found at)	570
— — —	571
Aspendus in Pamphylia (theatre at, exterior)	612
— — (interior)	613
Ass (bronze)	598
Athens (the Long Walls of)	658
Athlete with the *strigillum*	208
Athletes (Roman)	355
Aventine hill and remains of the *ponte Rotto*	438
Bacchanals (fragment of senatus-consultum of the)	251
Bacchus	252
— in India	506
— Indian (called Sardanapalus)	652
Baiæ (temple of Diana at)	583
Balearic Islands (map)	154
Banquet	261
Battering-ram (used by hand)	659
Bird-catcher	679
Bithynia (captive)	808
Blacksmith	310
Boar hunt	280
Bonus Eventus	728
Book (*volumen*)	377
Borghese vase	120
— — (details of the)	119
Bosphorus (Cimmerian), laurel-wreath of gold	833
Brazen bull	504
Bronze lamp found at Stabiæ	572
Buffoon or jester	397
Cadmeia and the plains of Thebes	331
Calculator	311
Capitol (pediment of the)	523
— (second temple of the)	725
Captive province	479
Car bearing captives	122
— — prisoners	121
Carpenters	310
Carthage (territory of, map)	145
Castellum (fortified post)	739
Castri (Delphi), plateau of, and Mount Parnassus	91
Catana ancient aqueduct at)	179
Census the (sacrifices)	295
Census the (registering)	295
Centuripæ (remains of ancient baths near)	616
Centurion	624
Ceres of the Vatican	623
Chæronea	665
Chalcis and Euripus (map)	115
Charioteer standing in a *quadriga*	324
Chariot-race	325
Chariot with four horses *quadriga*	323
Chastity (the goddess)	262
Chelves (ruins of the aqueduct at, near Saguntum)	764
Chios (view of the island and harbour of)	307
Cicero	788
Circus (the games of the)	279
Cirta (Constantine, the rocks)	459
— (the natural bridge)	465
Client	313
Chulilla (the waterfall of, on the Turia)	763
Collar and decorations worn by a centurion	470
Combatant (wounded)	494
Combatants	535
Combat between genii and wild beasts	631
Comedy (scene of a)	265
Conclamatio over the dead	723
Concord	585
Cora (bridge at)	755

	Page
Corinth (ruins of the temple of)	134
Cornelii (Scipios), ruins of the tomb of the, upon the Appian Way	357
Cornelius (Lucius)	560
Corpse upon a cart	436
Cow-herd	403
Crete (view of Khania	809
Cuirass ornamented with *phaleræ*	470
Cumæ	722
Cup (silver)	226
— —	377
Cybele	246
Cyprus	160
— (turreted head from)	671
Cyrenaica (terra-cotta figurine of)	528
— (Vase from)	161
Cyzicus (remains of walls)	811
Dainties	366
—	367
Delphi (sculpture from)	659
Demeter (head of, found at Apollonia)	33
Diana (temple of) at Baiæ	583
— (temple at Evora)	187
— (the combatant)	621
Distribution (gratuitous) to the people	426
Domitius (inscription of)	488
Drinking scene	352
Dyrrachium (bas-relief of), Dalmatian warriors or gladiators	676
Elcha (the grove of palm-trees at)	761
Entremont (monument at)	485
Ephesus (ruins of the Gymnasium)	654
Epicurus	215
Eros (the) of the Vatican	620
Eryx (Mt.) and remains of the temple of Venus	617
Evora (temple of Diana at)	187
Euripides	207
Eyerdir (iron gates across the lake)	650
Farm (a)	699
Farnese bull (the)	209
Faunus with the child, or Silenus and Bacchus	283
Ferentinum	539
Fettered race (the)	509
Flamininus Titus Quinctius	76
Fortune (the goddess)	537
— —	718
— —	741
Forum (bas-relief), representing 1, orator on the rostra; 2, a judge sitting in court	427
— (Roman, aspect of the in 1653)	405
Frieze (Greek) brought to Rome	349
Fullers (workshop of)	372
— —	373
Funereal couch	419
— fillet of an inhabitant of Panticapæum	643
— pile	726
— scene	81
Gaëta	593
Galatea (Hassan-Ochlan)	813
Galatian (dying)	59
— —	667
Gallic prisoner	72
— and trophy	73
Gardens (viridarium)	695
Gaul (wounded) falling from his horse	71
— — killing himself	163
Gibraltar (bay of, map)	156
Gladiator	324
— (the so-called Dresden)	498
— (Thracian)	389
Gladiators (combat of)	326
— —	327
— helmets	772
Goat-herd	301
Gortyn (bas-relief)	799
Health (ruins of the temple of, at Albani)	253
Herald (Roman)	173
Hercules	696
— struggle with Antæus	750
— with his club	442
Hero called the fighting gladiator	297
Himera (Termini), ruins of	706
Histrion	471
Horseman (Roman)	424
Huckle-bones (women playing with)	444
Hygieia	362
— and Æsculapius	365
Hyrcanus (John), ruins of the palace of	829
Iasus	24
Iron gates across the lake Eyerdir	650
Isis and Serapis (worship of)	244
Isocrates	273
Italica (mosaic from)	155
Ixion upon the wheel	270
Jerusalem (golden gate of the temple at)	831
Jester	695
Jewels	363
— found at Koul-Oba	645
— of Cimmerian Bosphorus	804
Jugurthine war (map)	457

	Page
Juno	434
— Matuta (restoration of the temple of)	221
Jupiter	742
— (altar of)	78
Larissa (present condition)	98
— (votive column found at)	197
Lerida (view of)	754
Lictor (bas-relief of the Vatican)	533
Lictors	174
Locri (ruins of)	538
Lucullus	818
Marines fighting on shipboard	573
Marius (Caius)	446
—	507
— (so-called trophies of)	501
Marriage (Roman)	292
Mars	379
—	491
— and Venus	525
Matron	346
Matuta or Leucothea (the dawn)	242
Mediterranean fish	224
Megalithic remains; dolmens of Sigus	450
Melpomene	267
Menander	260
Mendicant	400
Mercury (temple of, upon the Gulf of Naples)	823
Messina and Tauromenium (road between)	396
Metelli (tomb, said to be of the)	415
Metrodorus	216
Miletus (marble lion found at)	230
Minerva of Herculaneum	551
— of Tivoli	740
Minturnæ	597
Misenum (ruins at)	440
Mitylene (view of)	127
Modius	517
Monaco	165
Musicians	281
Naples: Arcade of the aqueduct called Ponti Rossi	541
Negro	387
Nola (vase from)	575
Nuceria (view of)	777
Numidia (view of the mountains of), the gorges of the Chiffa	455
Numidian desert (view of the), environs of Biskra	475
— palm-trees (group of)	453
Nymphæum of Liria	759
Ocriculum (mosaic from)	566
Ocriculum (mosaic from details of a section)	567
Olive gathering	303
— wreath in gold	726
Olympus (mt.) and the defile of Tempe (map)	101
Orator (the)	233
Orchomenus (ruins of)	669
Ornaments found at Koul-Oba	
Ostia (mosaic at)	591
Ostian road (Roman bridge over the)	562
Penates	241
Personification of cities (bas-relief in the Louvre)	709
Petra (tomb), called that of	828
Phœnician car	147
Phrygian archer	497
Pirate vessel (Greek)	782
Pisos (tomb of the)	693
Platæa (view of the)	663
Plato	213
Pompey	704
Port or harbour	801
Præneste (chest of)	684
— (details on the chest of)	685
— (wall of)	682
Proserpine's (lake), near Enna	395
Providence	238
Psyche (or Venus) of Capua	563
Pydna (environs of, map)	109
— (funeral couch in marble found in a tomb at)	110
Reader	376
Roma dea	638
Roman eagle	496
Rome deified	382
— mistress of the world	284
Sacrifice	290
—	328
Sailing vessel	599
Saint-Bertrand de Comminges (*Lugdunum Convenarum*)	767
Salerno (gulf of, from the north)	557
Samothrace (the victory of)	112
Sandal (patrician, *calceus patricius*)	410
Sandals —	411
Sangarius (the), between Sabandja and Gheïveh	835
Sarcophagus of Bacchantes	248
— from Patræ	189
— representing a combat	132
Saturn (temple of)	519

	Page
Satyr	243
Scenic representation	356
Sculptor	239
Scythian warrior armed with the *acinaces*	651
Segesta (temple of)	511
Shepherd	404
—	774
Shepherdess and her flock	302
Ship equipped	184
— of war	774
Shoemakers	311
Sisyphus	270
Slave taking refuge upon an altar	510
— under the scourge	392
— (young)	421
Smyrna	629
— (aqueduct near)	522
Soldier armed with a sling	662
— (Roman)	416
— —	469
Sorceress	773
Spoleto (aqueduct of)	547
— (temple of Clitumnus)	701
Stabiæ (bronze lamp found at)	572
Stonecutters	340
Sun-dial or Gnomon	282
Sun (the) personified	79
Suppliants (procession of)	312
Sword found at Pompeii	441
Sylla	477
Syracuse (temple of Minerva transformed into a church)	386
— (quarries of), used as prisons	172
— (ruins at)	344
Tagus (gorge of the)	67
Tanagra (figurine of), woman playing with huckle-bones	675
— (terra-cotta figurine from)	664
Tangier (*Tingis*), view of	751
Tantalus	270
Tarentum (warrior found at)	432
Terracina	596
Testudo (a)	106
Thalia	266
Thasos	39
Thermopylæ	51
Thock-Gheuze (bridge of, upon the Halys)	815
Tiber (mouth of the)	603
Tibur (cascades of Tivoli)	635
Tomb	402
— of a freedman of Pompeius	390
— of an *Argentarius*	430
— said to be of Marius, near lake Fusaro	608
— of the Pisos	693
Tombs of the kings of Pontus	648
Travellers	577
Trumpeter (Roman)	662
Tullianum (the)	486
Tusculum	342
Vase (silver)	347
Veiled pontiff clothed in a long robe	199
Veles (a)	666
Venus Anadyomene	269
— of Cnidus	348
— of the Esquiline	588
— found at Nuceria	508
— (*Victrix*)	719
Verona (porta de' Borsari at)	503
Vessels laden with plunder and troops	792
— (swift), *celes*	757
— (transport)	203
Vestal	727
— of the Florentine Museum	409
Victory (the) of Samothrace	112
Victory (Pompeian painting)	609
Villa on the seashore	695
Volaterræ (Etruscan walls of)	687
Voting upon the *pons suffragiorum*	406
Votive column of the Dioscuri found at Larissa	197
Warrior, found near Tarentum	432
— (Greek)	673
Warriors (Roman)	781
Weaver	311
Whip (the) of the *lorarius*	391
Wine cart	351
Wine dealer's sign	605
Woman weighing out wool	310
Wreath of gold	333

III.—COLOURED MAPS AND PLATES.

1. Illyria, Greece, Macedon, etc.—The Macedonian wars—Wars against Antiochus and the Galatians 8
2. Territory of the Republic about 130 B.C. 164
3. South-Eastern Gaul, for the creation of the province of Narbo and the wars of the Cimbri 484
4. Italy—The Social war—The Civil war 540
5. Wars against Mithridates 798

1. Macedonian tomb, found at Pydna 110
2. Corinthian vases 136
3. The triumph of Amphitrite (Pompeian picture) 170
4. Dancing girls (Pompeian picture) 220
5. Bronze bed (and detail) found at Pompeii 224
6. Decoration of a villa (Pompeian picture) 326
7. Vases, glass, and earthenware 622
8. Cup of Mithridates or the Ptolemies 644
9. Hercules subdued by Omphale 720
10. Jupiter crowned by Victory 726

[1] Opposite the pages indicated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOLUME II.

FIFTH PERIOD.

CONQUEST OF THE WORLD (201–133).

CHAPTER XXVI.

CONDITION OF THE ANCIENT WORLD ABOUT THE YEAR 200 B.C.

	Page
I. Italy, Africa, Syria, Egypt	1
II. Greece	8
III. Macedon	22

CHAPTER XXVII.

SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR (200–197).

I. First operations of Rome in Greece	28
II. Proclamation of the liberty of Greece	38

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WAR AGAINST THE KING OF SYRIA AND THE GALATIANS (192–188).

I. Preliminaries of the War against Antiochus	41
II. Antiochus in Greece: battle of Thermopylæ (192–1)	45
III. Battle of Magnesia (190); defeat of the Galatians (189)	50

CHAPTER XXIX.

SECOND CONQUEST OF SPAIN: SUBMISSION OF CISALPINE GAUL.

I. Operations in Spain (197–178)	65
II. Conquest of Cisalpine Gaul: Italy closed against the Barbarians (200–163)	70

CHAPTER XXX.

THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR (171–168).

I. Last years of Philip; death of Philopœmen and of Hannibal	75
II. Perseus	84

CHAPTER XXXI.

DUCTION OF MACEDON INTO A PROVINCE; SUBMISSION OF GREECE.

I. Alarm of the Princes and States after Pydna 124
II. Reduction of Macedon into a province (146) 131
III. Battle of Leucopetra; destruction of Corinth (146) 133

CHAPTER XXXII.

REDUCTION OF CARTHAGINIAN AFRICA INTO A PROVINCE.

I. Carthage, Masinissa, and Rome 139
II. Third Punic war (149–146) 141

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SUBMISSION OF SPAIN AND OF PERGAMEAN ASIA.

I. Submission of Spain (178–133) 149
II. Reduction of Pergamean Asia into a province (133–129) 158

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ORGANIZATION OF ROMAN PROVINCES.

I. Extent of the territory of the Republic about 130 B.C. 163
II. The province 169
III. The governor 173
IV. The legates and the quæstors 178
V. Obligations of the provincials 182
VI. Different classes of provincial cities 185
VII. Provincial assemblies 194

SIXTH PERIOD.

THE GRACCHI, MARIUS AND SYLLA (133–79); EFFORTS AT REFORM.

CHAPTER XXXV.

HELLENISM AT ROME.

I. Moral condition of Greece in the second century B.C. 202
II. Greek manners and Oriental luxury in Rome 219
III. Decline of national religion at Rome 232
IV. Increasing popularity of Oriental religions 240
V. Influence of Greece upon Roman literature 257

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CHANGES IN THE CONDITIONS OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE.

I. Apparent stability of the constitution 285
II. New social conditions 291
III. Political changes 316

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Strife between the Old and New.

I. The reaction; Cato 341
II. Cato opposed to the Scipios 350
III. The censorship of Cato 359
IV. Scipio Æmilianus 374

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Gracchi.

I. First revolt of the slaves 383
II. Tiberius Gracchus 396
III. Scipio Æmilianus 414
IV. Caius Gracchus 420

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The Aristocratic Reaction; Early Career of Marius; Jugurtha (121–106).

I. Aristocratic reaction 442
II. Early career of Marius 445
III. Jugurtha 449
IV. The command of Marius in Numidia (107–105) 472

CHAPTER XL.

The Cimbri and Teutones (113–101).

I. Creation of a Roman province in Gaul 483
II. The Cimbri in Gaul; battle of Aix (102) 490
III. The Cimbri in Italy; battle of Vercellæ (101) 502

CHAPTER XLI.

Second Revolt of the Slaves, and New Disturbances in Rome (103–91).

I. Insurrection of the slaves in Italy and Sicily (103–99) 508
II. The triumvirate of Marius, Glaucia, and Saturninus (100) 514
III. Tribuneship of Livius Drusus (91) 527

CHAPTER XLII.

The Social War.

I. Condition of the Italians 536
II. First year of the Social war 550
III. Second and third years of the Social war (89–88) 560
IV. Citizenship given to the Italians 576

CHAPTER XLIII.

Rivalry of Marius and Sylla.

I. The dispute for the command in the war against Mithridates 580
II. Flight and return of Marius; proscriptions; his seventh consulship (87–86) 591

CHAPTER XLIV.

MISERABLE CONDITION OF THE PROVI...

I. A provincial governor 610
II. Exactions in the provinces; the publicans; usury 624
III. Powerlessness of the law to protect the provincials 634

CHAPTER XLV.

INSURRECTION OF THE PROVINCES; MITHRIDATES.

I. Mithridates 639
II. Conquest of Asia Minor by Mithridates (88); invasion of Greece (87) . . . 651
III. Siege of Athens; battles of Chæronea and Orchomenus (87–85) 657

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE FIRST CIVIL WAR.

I. First year of the Civil war (83) 674
II. Second year of the Civil war (82) 680

CHAPTER XLVII

DICTATORSHIP OF SYLLA (FROM NOVEMBER, 82, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 79).

I. Proscriptions 690
II. Sylla's reforms 707
III. Abdication and death of Sylla 720

SEVENTH PERIOD.

THE TRIUMVIRS AND THE REVOLUTION (79–30).

CHAPTER XLVIII.

POMPEY, LEPIDUS, AND SERTORIUS (79–70).

I. Recapitulation of the preceding period 732
II. Pompey 733
III. Lepidus; new civil war (78–77) 737
IV. Sertorius; continuation of the Civil war (80–73) 747

CHAPTER XLIX.

SPARTACUS; RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE POWER OF THE TRIBUNES; WAR WITH THE PIRATES.

I. The gladiators (73–71) 772
II. Re-establishment of the power of the tribunes (70) 781
III. War with the pirates 791

CHAPTER L.

Last War against Mithridates.

I. Victories of Lucullus over the kings of Pontus and Armenia (74–66) 804
II. Pompey succeeds Lucullus in command of the army of Asia (66) 821
III. Re-organization of Anterior Asia (65) 834

ALPHABETICAL TABLES.

I. Coins and gems 839
II. Maps and engravings (marbles, bronzes, statues, vases, and jewels) 842
III. Coloured maps and plates 846
Table of contents of second volume 847

PRINTED BY

KELLY & CO., 51, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON, W.C.;

AND KINGSTON-ON-THAMES.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018